

Further Observations on the History and Coinage of the Gupta Period.—By VINCENT A. SMITH, *Indian Civil Service*.

(With Plate VI.)

(Read December, 1894.)

Contents :—PART I.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

,, II.—GUPTA GOLD COINS.

,, III.—GUPTA COPPER COINS.

,, IV.—LATER KUṢĀN COINS.

,, V.—THE INDIAN COINAGE OF THE EPHTHALITES,
OR WHITE HUNS, AND GUPTA SILVER COINS.

PART I.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Although no very long period has elapsed since the publication of my last work on the Gupta Coinage,¹ sufficient material has accumulated in the interval to warrant the preparation of another Supplement. The elaborate papers by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham on the coinages of the Later Indo-Scythians, and of the Ephthalites, or White Huns, have thrown much light on the history and coinages of dynasties closely connected with the Guptas, and have tempted me to wander a little beyond the confines of the Gupta field which I have hitherto cultivated.

Since I have been stationed at Gōrakhpur, I have had the opportunity of examining the large and varied collection of coins formed by my friend, Dr. William Hoey, I.C.S. The most remarkable coins of the Gupta Period in his cabinet are noticed in this paper. On other occasions I hope to publish some of the novelties in other departments which he possesses. Dr. Hoey's cabinet has supplied me with a large proportion of my material on the present occasion, though I have not neglected other sources of information.

¹ *Observations on the Gupta Coinage*; read at the International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892, and published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1893. In the following pages this work is cited as *Observations*.

My remark (*Observations*, p. 80) that 'the year of the Gupta Era appears, according to the most recent calculations, to have been A. D. 319-20,' is somewhat obscure. It means, as stated in the Synoptic Table, that the year 0 was 318-19, and the year 1 was 319-20. The statement rests on the *dictum* of Dr. Bühler (*On the Origin of the Gupta Valabhi Era*, p. 3), that 'the weight of the evidence is in favour of the year 318-19, as the true beginning of the Gupta Era.'¹ Dr. Fleet is, or was, of opinion (*Indian Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 388) that the Gupta Era, as used in Central India and Nēpāl, and all northern inscriptions, is to be expressed by the formula,—Year 0 = 9 March, A.D. 319—25th Feb., A.D. 320. Year 1 (current) = 26th Feb., A.D. 320—15th March, A. D. 321. According to Dr. Fleet, the equations for the Valabhi variety of the era, are year 0 = 11th Oct., A.D. 318—30th Sept., A.D. 319. Year 1 (current) = 1st Oct., A.D. 319—18th Oct., A.D. 320. I presume that this western, or Valabhi Era, is to be used in interpreting the coins and inscriptions from Gujarāt, though this detail does not seem to be yet determined. I am quite incapable of understanding the elaborate calculations about Hindū dates in which Dr. Fleet and some of his coadjutors delight, and must content myself with expressing the hope that the experts who do understand them will soon be able to complete their labours, and settle definitely the exact era to be used in the calculation of Gupta dates, both for Western and Northern India.

The copper-plate inscription found at Pālī, near Kōsam (Kauçāmbī) in the Allāhābād District, in 1891, is dated in the year 158, which is probably to be referred to the Gupta era. This plate is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, and has been described in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., p. 363.

Another newly-discovered inscription of the Gupta Period has been briefly noticed by Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary* for February, 1892, Vol. XXI., p. 45. This record, which may be called the Farīdpur Inscription, was found in the Farīdpur district of Eastern Bengal. It is a copper-plate bearing an inscription in early Gupta characters of the North-Eastern class. The purport of it is to record a gift of land to a Brāhman in the reign of *Çrī Maharājādhirāja Dharmāditya*. The seal bears the device of Lakṣmī, standing, with an elephant on each side, besprinkling her. Dr. Hoernle suggests that this device may have been the early seal of the Gupta kings before they adopted the Garuḍa device. The inscription begins in the style usual in the Gupta inscriptions, and

¹ Kielhorn (*Trans. Intern. Congress of 1892*. I, 429) holds that, according to the prevailing custom of the Hindus, the dates are given in *expired* years, and that "a similar conclusion is forced on us in regard to the Gupta era, the true epoch of which I believe to be A.D. 318-319, not 319-320."

applies to king Dharmāditya the epithet ‘*Apratiratha*,’ ‘unsurpassable,’ which is the special epithet of Samudra Gupta, both in coins and inscriptions. These circumstances naturally suggest to Dr. Hoernle the hypothesis that Dharmāditya may be merely a title of Samudra Gupta. This suggestion is plausible, though not convincing. I doubt if the Lakṣmī device can ever have been the family device of the Guptas. The use of the Garuḍa cognizance was well established in the time of Samudra Gupta, who used it on his ‘Javelin’ and ‘Archer’ coins, in the form of the standard, and on a seal. The seal referred to is that of the spurious Gayā grant (*Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 255, pl. xxxvii). I agree with Dr. Fleet in believing that, though the grant is a forgery, the seal is perfectly genuine. The “Garuḍa-marked tokens” (*i.e.*, probably, gold coins) are mentioned in the Allāhābād inscription, as having been offered to Samudra Gupta (*Fleet*, p. 14, *note*) by the subject nations. It is, therefore, improbable that this sovereign changed the family cognizance from the Lakṣmī to the Garuḍa device. The Farīd-pur record unfortunately is not dated. If it was not executed on behalf of Samudra Gupta himself, it certainly seems to be approximately contemporary with him, and may very probably be a record of Kācha, whom I believe to have been the brother and predecessor of Samudra Gupta.

I observe that Dr. Führer, in his label on the seal of Kumāra Gupta II, in the Lucknow Museum, definitely adopts the reading *Sthira* for the name of the predecessor of Nara Siṃha Gupta, and interprets it as a synonym for Skanda.¹ I adhere to the opinion (*Observations*, p. 83, *note*) that it is more probable that Sthira Gupta was the brother of Skanda Gupta, and that Skanda Gupta was omitted from the genealogy of the seal inscription, owing to his having died, leaving no male issue. Dr. Führer reads the name of the queen of Nara Siṃha Gupta as being Mahā Lakṣmī Dēvī.

The palæography of the Gupta Period is discussed by Dr. Hoernle in his paper on the Weber Manuscripts, in *J. A. S., Bengal*, for 1893, Vol. LXII., Part I., p. 4; and in the *Indian Antiquary* for February, 1892, Vol. XXI., p. 40 *seqq.* The subject is further illustrated by the same scholar’s publications on the Bower Manuscript.

¹ In reply to a reference, Dr. Führer writes under date 3rd December, 1894:—“I have looked again at the disputed reading on the Bhitārī seal of Kumāra Gupta II, and cannot agree with Dr. Hoernle’s reading of Pura Gupta, or Cunningham’s Puru Gupta. There is no doubt it is Sthira Gupta, as Bühler reads. I sent Bühler a *cast* of the seal for the Vienna Oriental Institute at the time, and feel sure you would agree to the reading, if you saw the original with a magnifying glass. When you next pass through Lucknow, I shall be glad to show it to you.” [See a note by Dr. Hoernle at the end of this paper.—ED.]

An interesting hoard of Gupta gold coins, which may be referred to as "the Hājipur hoard," has been recently described by Dr. Hoernle. The deposit is said to have been found by a boy "among brick rubbish in a small walled enclosure near Kunahrā Ghāt, in the bāzār of Hājipur on the 2nd or 3rd of August, 1893." Altogether, 22 coins were found, though only 14 of these were recovered through the Collector of Muzaffarpur. (*Proc., A. S. Bengal*, March 1894, p. 5.)

The details, are:—

King.	Type.	No. of Specimens.	Reference.
Candra ¹ Gupta I,	King & Queen	1	<i>Coinage</i> , ² Pl. I. 1
Samudra Gupta II,	Archer	1	" " " 10
" " "	Javelin	2	" " " 7
" " "	Battle-axe, var. α	1	" " " 11
Candra Gupta II,	Archer, Class I, var. α	2	<i>Not figured.</i>
" " "	" " II	1	<i>Coinage</i> , Pl. I. 16
" " "	Combatant Lion	3	" " II. 5
" " "	Umbrella, var. β	2	" " II. 8
" " "	" new var.	1	<i>Not figured.</i>

My friend Mr. C. S. Delmerick has been successful in collecting a good many gold and copper Gupta coins in the Badāon District, which lies between the ancient capital cities, Ahichatra (Rāmnagar) in the Barēli District and Kanauj in the Farrukhābād District. Mr. D. Ernst of Calcutta has a nice set of eleven gold Gupta coins, collected chiefly at or near Cawnpore. The set includes some rare, but no new coins.

PART II.—GUPTA GOLD COINS.

KĀCHA OR KACHA.

Standard Type—(*Coinage*, p. 74; *Observations*, p. 95.)

A coin obtained by Dr. Vost from the Hardōi district in Oudh, distinctly gives the name as *Kācha*, with the long vowel, in both places. On the margin the long vowel is indicated by a short horizontal line to the right, on a level with the head of the *K*. Below the arm it is indicated by a similar short line above the head of the *K*. This coin closely resembles the B. M. Prinsep specimen, figured in *Coinage*, Pl. I, 3, and the vowel mark for *ā*, under the arm, is formed the same way in both coins.

¹ I particularly dislike using the English *c* instead of *ch*, as the equivalent of च, but am obliged to conform to the system recently sanctioned by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

² The reference *Coinage* is to my treatise on *The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty*, with five plates (*J. Roy. As. Soc.* for 1889).

SAMUDRA GUPTA.

Tiger Type.—(*Coinage*, p. 64; *Observations*, p. 96.)

Until recently this extremely rare type was known from a single coin only, the Eden specimen in the British Museum. (*Coinage*, Pl. I, 2.) In 1891, Mr. Rapson published a notice of a "poor specimen" in Mr. Wilmot Lane's cabinet.

Dr. Hoey possesses a third example, in very fine condition. (See Pl. VI, fig. 1.) This coin agrees with my description, except that a standard, or sceptre, surmounted by a crescent, and adorned with ribbons, is inserted in the field between the bow and the tiger. This object resembles the standard on the obverse, but is shorter. The obverse legend is damaged, though the characters $\text{व्याघ्र} \times \times \text{क} \times \text{Vyāghra}$ [parā]kkra[ma] are recognizable.

SAMUDRA GUPTA.

Battle-axe Type.—(*Coinage*, p. 72; *Observations*, p. 102.)

Variety β (*Coinage*, p. 73), characterized by the syllable $\text{क} \text{kr}$ under the king's arm, has hitherto been known from a single specimen, that from the Eden cabinet in the British Museum.

Dr. Hoey possesses a second example in good condition, which seems to be struck from the same die as the British Museum coin.

CANDRA GUPTA II.

Archer Type.

The sub-variety of Class II, var. α (*Observations*, p. 105), which is characterized by the absence of the usual personal name *Candra*, under the king's arm, was until now known only from Mr. Rivett-Carnac's example.

Mr. C. S. Delmerick, who has recently been collecting Gupta coins with considerable success in the Badāon district, has obtained a second fine specimen. This piece is a broad coin, diameter .875 inch. Instead of the name under the arm, the king's sword is very distinctly shown. The figure of the king is upright. Lakṣmī on the reverse has her left hand resting on her hip.

CANDRA GUPTA II.

Umbrella Type.—(*Coinage*, p. 91; *Observations*, p. 113.)

The above-cited publications describe only two varieties, namely, α , in which the reverse goddess stands to left on a pedestal (or, in one instance, on a curved line), and β , in which she stands, facing front, on the back of a monster.

A third variety, γ , must now be added, in which the goddess, turned to left, walks or stands on the ground. The existence of this variety was first indicated by Dr. Hoernle, in *Proc., A. S. B.*, for April, 1893, p. 95, when describing a coin presented to the Indian Museum by Mr. Rivett-Carnac. (See Plate VI, fig. 2). The reality of this new variety is now fully established by an excellent specimen in Dr. Hoey's possession. (See Pl. VI, fig. 3.) The reverse of this coin is in perfect condition, and the marginal circle of dots is immediately below the feet of the goddess. The obverse legend seems to be *Candra Gupta*, with traces of *Mahārājā-dhirāja*, which words do not occur on other specimens.

A coin in the Hājipur hoard and marked No. 13,815 in the Indian Museum (*ante*, p. 167), described by Dr. Hoernle (*Proc., A. S. B.* for 1894), exhibiting the "goddess walking to left, with fillet in right hand," constitutes a sub-variety. (Pl. II, fig. 4.) It will be observed that the attitude of the obverse figures on the several coins varies slightly. The legends are imperfect.

KUMĀRA GUPTA I.

Swordsman Type.

This type, heretofore known from two specimens, both found in the bed of the Ganges, near Patna, of which one is in the British Museum, and the other in the Bodleian Library, is now represented by a third example, given to the Indian Museum by Mr. Rivett-Carnac. "Where this coin, now belonging to the Indian Museum, was found is not known; but it is a genuine specimen, and has a gold loop soldered to its rim, showing that it was used as an amulet, or ornament." (Dr. Hoernle, in *Proc., A. S. B.*, April, 1893, p. 95.)

KUMĀRA GUPTA I.


Archer Type—(*Observations*, p. 116.)

A poor specimen of variety 1 of this type, in Dr. Hoey's cabinet, is remarkable for having the rare trefoil monogram, No. 25, which occurred on two specimens from the hoard of Bharsar, near Benares. (*Coinage*, p. 96.) The gold is poor and alloyed. (Pl. VI, fig. 5.)

SKANDA GUPTA.

King and Queen Type.

My Catalogue (*Coinage*, p. 111) mentions only two specimens of this type, one from Kanauj in the British Museum, and the other, said to be in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have recently bought a third specimen, which was found at Bhitari in the Ghazipur district. (Pl. VI, fig. 6.)

This coin is in good condition. In my description of the obverse of the type (*Coinage*, p. 110) the remark that the bird, or Garuḍa, standard is furnished "with pennons" is erroneous; there are no pennons either on the Kanauj or the Bhitari coin. The Bhitari coin shows no trace of any obverse marginal legend, but has distinct remains of names over each figure. The name  *Skanda* is placed vertically between the king's head and the Garuḍa; the first letter स being deficient. The queen's name is, unluckily, illegible. It is placed over the queen's head, and the letters प्रिया *priyā* may be doubtfully read as the concluding element of the name. This defect is unfortunate, because the name of Skanda Gupta's queen is not recorded in any of the known inscriptions. The discovery of this Bhitari specimen makes it certain that the type is rightly named the King and Queen type. The queen on this coin holds behind her back a long stem, probably that of a lotus flower. The reverse legend श्री स्कन्द गुप्तः *Śrī Skanda Guptaḥ* is distinct. The monogram is indistinct. Mr. D. Ernst possesses a fourth specimen, not quite so good as mine.

ÇAÇĀṄKA (NARĒNDRA GUPTA.)

Bull Type.—(*Observations*, p. 147.)

Only two specimens of this type are described in *Observations*, and the paucity of specimens at my command led me into some errors of description. By the kindness of Dr. Hoernle I have been enabled to inspect several examples in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and to correct the errors and supply the omissions in the descriptions published by Cunningham and myself.

The amended technical description is as follows:—

Obv.—King, facing front, mounted on recumbent bull, which is to l.; king's r. hand, or elbow, resting on bull's hump; his l. hand raised. Disk (moon) over bull's head. Marginal legend on r., imperfect, श्री स *Śrī Ça[çāṅka]*. Below bull two characters, which vary.

Rev.—Lakṣmī on lotus seat, in debased style, though the legs are separate, and not combined into a bar, as in the debased Gupta coins. Her r. hand is extended, her l. arm grasps a stalked lotus bud. On each side, in upper field, a minute elephant, sprinkling the goddess.

Legend on r. margin, श्री सशङ्क *Śrī Çuṣāṅka*. No mon.

The coins are of coarse, thick fabric, and very rude execution. Some specimens have large dots round the margins. The gold is extremely impure, and according to Cunningham's analysis (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 16), contains 58 p. c. of alloy. The proportion of alloy

seems to vary in different specimens. The highest weight noted is 147 grains. Diameter varies considerably. The elephants are often so debased as to be unrecognizable.

References and Remarks.

B. M.—(*Observations*, Pl. III, 11). The first of the two characters below the bull is certainly **स** *sa*, and the second seems to be **क** *ka*.

C.—The first of the two characters below the bull is **स** *sa*. From Gayā.

A. C.—(*Coins of Med. India*, p. 19, Pl. II, 5). The characters below the bull are distinct, and read by Cunningham as *jaya*. The first character is certainly **ज** *ja*, and the second seems to be **य** *ya*. From Gayā.

A. S. B.—Six or seven specimens. On one the characters below the bull are plainly **सज** *saja*. Three of these coins are figured in Plate VI (figures 8, 9, 10).

Hoey.—The gold in this coin seems to be less impure than that of the others. (Plate VI, 7).

The name *Çaçāṅka* means “marked with the hare,” which is an epithet of the moon. The name is, therefore, in meaning equivalent to *Candra*. I presume that the disk over the bull’s head on the coins is intended for the moon, rather than for the sun.

The references to passages in Cunningham’s *Archæological Survey Reports* concerning *Çaçāṅka*, given in *Observations*, are not quite correct. They should be as follows:—I, 5, 10; III, 80, 138; VIII, 71, 72, 191–193; IX, 157; XV, 102.

The reference to Vol. VII, Plate VI, given both in *Observations* and in my *General Index* to the *Reports* for *Çaçāṅka*’s seal-matrix at Rohtās, is a blunder for which I am quite unable to account. The only reference to the seal-matrix, which I can find in the *Reports*, is a passing allusion to its existence in Vol. IX, p. 157.

The inscription of this seal-matrix has been published by Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 283, Pl. xliii, B). It consists merely of the words *Çrī Mahāsāmanta Çaçāṅkadēvasya*, surmounted by the figure of the bull. There can be no doubt, that this record, and the gold coins, must be assigned to the king of *Karṇa Suvarṇa*, in Central Bengal, who reigned at the beginning of the seventh century, A.D. Dr. Fleet is of opinion, that the term “*Mahāsāmanta*, *lit.*, ‘a great chief of a district,’ is a technical official title, which seems to denote the same rank as *Mahārāja*.”

The position of *Çaçāṅka*’s kingdom of *Karṇa-Suvarṇa* has recently been discussed by several writers.

Mr. Hewitt believes that the portion of that kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsiang is now the district of Mānbhūm, which is held by the Rājas of Pachete, whose crest is a bull, and that the capital of the kingdom was Campā, the modern Bhāgalpur.¹

Dr. Waddell seeks to identify the capital with Kancannagar, a suburb of Bardwān.²

Both these identifications are certainly wrong, and based on false etymologies or other insufficient grounds.

Mr. Beveridge gives excellent and substantial reasons for placing the capital of Karṇa-Suvarṇa at Raṅgamāṭī, in the Murshīdābād district.³ He is mistaken in supposing his identification to be a novelty.⁴ It had been made many years ago, and forgotten. A note in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1878, explains that in Hiuen-Tsiang's text the word *Kin-eul*, 'golden-eared,' or 'having gold in the ears,' corresponding to the Sanskrit Karṇa-Suvarṇa, refers to "the town of Raṅgāmaṭṭī, 12 miles south of Murshīdābād [which] stands on the site of an old city called *Kurusona-ka-gadh*, supposed to be a Bengālī corruption of the name in the text: *Jour., As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXII. (1853), pp. 281, 282; *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N.S.)*, Vol. VI., p. 248."⁵ The discovery of the site of Karṇa-Suvarṇa is due to Captain L. P. Layard, whose paper entitled *The ancient city of Kansonapuri, now called Raṅgamutty*, was published in the *Journal* of this Society for 1853.

It would seem to be true that Çaçāṅka was also known by the name of Narēndra Gupta, though the evidence for the alleged fact is not conclusive. In 1879, Cunningham observed that "Professor Hall has suggested that his full name may have been Sasāṅka Gupta; but I learn from Dr. Bühler, that in the Jain books Sasāṅka is called Narēndra Gupta."⁶ Dr. Bühler informs me that Cunningham's reference to the Jain books is due to a misreading of a communication from Dr. Bühler, who really wrote that Çaçāṅka is called Narēndra Gupta by Bāṇa. The word Bāṇa seems to have been misread as Jaina.

A year earlier, in 1878, the anonymous writer in the *Indian Antiquary*, who has already been quoted, boldly made the assertion that Çaçāṅka is called Narēndra Gupta in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa. His words

¹ *J., R. As. Soc.*, for 1893, pp. 294, 300.

² *Proc., A. S. B.*, Dec. 1892, p. 184; Appendix to *Discovery of the Exact Site of Aṣōka's Capital of Pāṭalīputra*. (Calcutta, published by Government of Bengal, 1892).

³ *Proc., A. S. B.*, Dec. 1893, p. 172; *J. A. S. B.*; Vol. LXII., Part I (1893), pp. 315-325. *The Site of Karṇa-Suvarṇa*.

⁴ *Ut supra, J., A. S. B.*, p. 326.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII., p. 197, note 5.

⁶ *Reports*, Vol. IX., p. 157.

are “In Chinese *Yuēi*, ‘moon.’ This is Śaśāṅka Narendra Gupta of Bāṇa’s *Harshacharita* ;” and again, “Rājyavardhana.....himself was defeated and killed by Śaśāṅka Narendra Gupta, king of Gauḍa or Bengal and succeeded by his younger brother Harsha, whom his officers urged to avenge his brother’s death. But the Hindu epic breaks off on the recovery of Rājyaśrī among the Vindhya mountains—See Hall’s *Vāsava-dattā*, pp. 51, 52 ; *Jour., Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., pp. 38-45.”¹

The English authorities quoted do not support the assertion that Çaçāṅka is called Narēndra Gupta by Bāṇa, and none of the writers referred to cites any passage from Bāṇa’s text. The manuscript used by Hall apparently gave Çaçāṅka the cognomen of Gupta, because Hall states (p. 52) that Gupta, king of Gauḍa, slew Rājyavardhana. Hiuen Tsiang relates that Rājyavardhana was treacherously slain by Çaçāṅka, king of Kārṇasuvarṇa in Eastern India.² Assuming both writers to be stating the truth, it follows that Çaçāṅka, king of Kārṇasuvarṇa, is identical with Gupta, king of Gauḍa. The fact of the treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana is confirmed by the Madhuban copper-plate of Harṣavardhana.³ Dr. Bühler states that one manuscript of the *Harṣa-carita* does give the full name of Narēndra Gupta to Çaçāṅka.

The translation of the *Harṣa-carita*, which Professor Cowell and Mr. Thomas have undertaken for the Oriental Translation Fund, will probably do much to clear up the history of Northern India at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

PART III.—GUPTA COPPER COINS.

CANDRA GUPTA II.

Mahārāja Type. (New).

Obv.—Bust of king, bareheaded, to l., with flower held between finger and thumb of r. hand, as in the Vikramāditya Bust type

¹ *Hiwan Thsang’s account of Harshavardhana, Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII., (August 1878), p. 197, notes 4, 6. The paper in the *Bombay Asiatic Society’s Journal* referred to is one by the late Dr. Bhāu Dājī, entitled *The Harsha-charita of Bāṇa*, which was read on 10th August, 1871.

² Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I., p. 210.

³ This inscription states that the prince “gave up his life in the mansion of his foe, owing to his adherence to a promise.” (Bühler on *The Madhuban Copper-Plate of Harṣa*, dated *Samvat 25*, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., p. 70.) Two other inscriptions of Harṣavardhana are now known, namely, the Sōnt seal (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 231, Pl. xxxi., B.), and the Banskhēra copperplate, dated 32 (= A.D. 638), recently discovered twenty-five miles from Shāhjahānpur (*Pioneer*, September 21st, 1894).

(*Coinage*, p. 140.) The bust occupies the entire field, so that there is neither exergue nor legend.

Rev.—Garuḍa standing on horizontal line, which does not extend to either margin. In lower half of field is the legend महारज चन्द्र ग *Mahārāja Candra Ga*; the vowel mark over the र being deficient. The character च *Ca* is distinct, but the following characters are not. (Plate VI, fig. 11.) Diameter .875. Wt. 105.

This coin was obtained by Mr. J. P. Rawlins, District Superintendent of Police, at a remote village in the Jhelam District of the Pañjāb, and was communicated to me through Mr. C. J. Rodgers. The kindness of the owner has enabled me to examine the coin, and have it photographed.

The obverse bust of this type and of the Vikramāditya Bust type seems to be a rude imitation of the device of the gold coins of Huvishka on which the king is represented holding an ear of corn. (Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, Pl. xxvii, 9, etc.)

The weight (105 grains) of this piece, which is in fairly good condition, is, perhaps an indication that the coin was struck to the standard of the contemporary gold *dīnārs*, that is to say, to a standard of about 125 grains. It can hardly be intended for a $\frac{3}{4}$ *paṇa* of 108 grains. I take the *ratī* as equivalent to 1.8 grains.

KUMĀRA GUPTA I, (or ? II).

Garuḍa Type (New).

Obv.—The letters श्रीकु, *Śrī Ku*, in large, bold characters of the period, occupy the greater part of the field. Above, Garuḍa standing on horizontal line. Dotted circle.

Rev.—Lakṣmī seated, executed in a very rough and degraded way, so that details are indistinct. A peculiar symbol in l. field. Dotted circle. Diameter about .7 inch. wt. 52 grains. Condition good.

This coin, which was bought by Mr. C. J. Rodgers at Sahāranpur, is now in the cabinet of Mr. W. Theobald at Budleigh-Salterton, Devon. I sent a drawing of the coin last year to Mr. Rapson for publication, but, as the coin has not yet been published, I insert this notice of it.

KUMĀRA GUPTA I AND SKANDA GUPTA.

Fantail Peacock Type.

I venture to think that the arguments in *Observations*, (pp. 137-144) have sufficiently established the fact that both Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta struck copper coins similar in device and size to the silver hemidrachms. The northern specimens of this copper coin-

age, like the contemporary silver hemidrachms, bear the reverse device of a peacock with expanded tail.

In addition to the few examples of this northern copper coinage, noted in *Observations*, p. 138, I may now add the following.

Lucknow Museum.—Two specimens of Kumāra Gupta from Sañcānkōṭ in the Unāo district. Two specimens of Skanda Gupta from Kōsam (Kauçāmbī), near Allāhābād. One specimen of Skanda Gupta from Ajōdhyā.

Hoey.—One worn specimen, probably of Kumāra Gupta, from Oudh.

None of these coins show any signs of plating.

Addendum to Parts I, II, and III

Sir Alexander Cunningham's valuable posthumous work on the *Coins of Mediæval India* came to hand too late for me to make use of it in the preceding text. But it contains a considerable amount of novel matter concerning the Guptas, which must be noticed in an essay professing to bring Gupta numismatics up to date.

Cunningham, without giving any reasons, has adopted the reading Puru Gupta, as that of the name of the son of Kumāra Gupta I, in the Bhitari Seal record. He never saw the original, and his reading cannot be accepted for reasons already stated (*ante*, p. 166).

Cunningham fixes Skanda Gupta's accession to undisputed power in the Gupta year 134, or A.D. 452 (misprinted 152 in text, p. 11). This date, which I also had adopted (*Observations*, p. 83), is too early. Dr. Vost has lately acquired a hemidrachm of Kumāra Gupta I, with a well preserved date, which is 136.

Cunningham figures (Plate II, 1) a coin of Nara Bālāditya to show that the character between the king's feet must be read *Gu*, not *grē*, and he interprets the character read *Gu*, as a contraction of *Gupta*. But he overlooks the very distinct vowel mark for *ē*, shown in his plate, and in mine (*Coinage*, Pl. iii., 11). This mark is equally plain on a coin from Bhitari in my possession. With all respect, therefore, for Cunningham's opinion, I adhere to my reading *grē*. On Gupta coins the word *Gupta* is never abbreviated, and never placed between the king's feet. The form of the character which Cunningham reads as *Gu*, and I read as *gr*, is identical with one of the forms of the numeral 7 in some of the Gupta inscriptions.¹

¹ See Bhagwān Lāl Indrajī's paper on *Ancient Indian Numerals* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 42.)

The coin of Kumāra Gupta II, Kramāditya (Pl. ii., 2), figured as “a novelty,” has been already published by me twice. (*Coinage*, Pl. ii., 12; *Observations*, p. 129.)

The Archer coin (Pl. ii., 3), with the name *Jaya* under the king's arm, and sun standard to his proper right, has not, I think, been before published. The reverse device is that of the lotus-seated Lakṣmī, and the legend, which is quite illegible on the plate, is read doubtfully as *Çrī Prakālāya*, which cannot be right. I am unable to define Jaya [Gupta's] dynastic place, but he is certainly one of the later local kings subsequent to Skanda Gupta. The coin belongs to the class of heavy (*suvarṇa*) coins, its weight being 140 grains.

The coin of Viṣṇu Gupta Candrāditya (Pl. ii., 4) was long ago figured in *Ariana Antiqua* (Pl. xviii., 24), and was again described by Thomas in his paper, entitled *Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindī Legends* (*Indian Antiquary* for 1883). Cunningham places the accession of Viṣṇu Gupta in A.D. 680, which date cannot be far wrong. In figure 5 of the same plate a coin of Çaçāṅka is depicted. The letters under the bull are clearly **जय** *jaya*.

Figure 8 represents the obverse only of a Gupta copper coin, thus described :—

“Weight 87 grains. Diameter .85 inch. Author; from Ahichhatra. The largest copper coin of the Guptas yet found.

“Female bust to left, with flower in right hand.

“*Garuḍa* symbol or standard of the Guptas; legend lost.”

This coin appears to be an inferior specimen of the new type, which I have described from Mr. Rawlins' coin, and named the Mahārāja type. The bust is that of the king, not of a female. It is to be observed that the king's face is turned to the left in all Gupta copper coins, and to the right in the silver coins.

Figure 9 represents a silver hemidrachm of Candra Gupta II which Cunningham believes to be dated in the year 80 odd. For the reasons given in *Coinage*, pp. 122, 123, I do not believe that this coin is dated. The character which looks like a numeral symbol is probably a remnant of a corrupt Greek legend.

The coin now figured by Cunningham is from Ajōdhyā.

My treatment of the Gupta coinage has always been defective in one important respect. I had no opportunities for procuring assays or analyses of the metal, and consequently could not give any definite facts concerning the degree of its purity. Cunningham has caused the necessary experiments to be made, and has compiled (p. 16) an interesting table showing the weight and purity of the Gupta gold coinage, as compared with the *aureus* of Augustus and the Great Kuṣān and

Little Kuṣān (Indo-Scythian) coins. The general result may be given in the author's words:—"The coins of all the earlier kings give an average weight of 123 grains, of which 107 grains are pure;¹ while 64 coins of the Kuṣān kings Wema Kadphises, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and the earlier specimens of Vasu Dēva, give exactly the same average. The later coins of Vasu Dēva show a falling off in the pure contents of nearly 10 grains. But towards the end of Skanda Gupta's reign,² the Gupta gold coins became much heavier, reaching an average of from 144 to 146 grains, while the pure contents were decreased to less than 70 grains. The coins of Nara Siṅha Gupta of this standard are thus only one-half gold, and are, therefore, worth only two-thirds of the earlier Gupta *dīnārs*. A singular exception is the money of Prakāṣāditya, of a bright yellow colour, which contains 121·7 grains of pure metal out of 146·4.³ At present I cannot even guess the reason of this strange freak. The single coin of Jaya Gupta is still more debased, the pure contents being only one-fifth of its weight. I take it to belong to a much later date."

The purity of the coinage of Prakāṣāditya shows that the revival of the ancient Hindū *suvarṇa* standard of 144 to 146 grains was a reality, and that the extra weight of the heavy coinage initiated by Skanda Gupta was not merely a compensation for excess of alloy.

PART IV.—THE COINAGE OF THE LATER KUṢĀNS (INDO-SCYTHIANS).

Section I. GREAT KUṢĀNS.

Section II. LITTLE KUṢĀNS.

Essays, replete with learning, prepared by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham towards the close of his life, and published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1893, and the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists* (London, 1892), have done much to elucidate the very obscure and perplexing history and coinage of the so-called Later Indo-Scythians.

The term Later Indo-Scythians is vague and inconvenient, and has come into use merely as a cloak for ignorance. It will, I hope,

¹ The coins of Kācha are the worst among the issues of the earlier kings. The figures for him are:—Full weight about 123; highest weight 118·5; pure gold 102·5; alloy 20·5, equivalent to 16·66 per cent. (V. A. S.)

² Skanda Gupta's King and Queen coins are *dīnārs*; his Kramāditya coins are *suvarṇas*. [V. A. S.]

³ Equivalent to 16·64 per cent. of alloy, a return to the standard of Kācha. The personal name and date of Prakāṣāditya are not known. [V. A. S.]

be superseded in time, as knowledge advances, by more definite and suitable terms. The adjective Later is intended to distinguish the minor Indian dynasties of Central Asian origin during the period A. D. 200 to 600¹ from the Early Indo-Scythians—the great imperial line of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vasudēva, and their forerunners.

The Later Great Kuṣān chiefs, who are included among the Later Indo-Scythians, seem to extend from about A. D. 200 to A. D. 425 or 430.

The Little Kuṣāns occupied the throne of Gāndhāra from about A. D. 430 to 500, and seem then to have been driven by the White Huns back into Chitrāl and the neighbouring territories.

The Ephthalites, or White Huns, are first heard of in India during the reign of Skanda Gupta, about A. D. 470, and seem to have been the dominant power in Northern India during the first half of the sixth century.

Cunningham's essays are extremely difficult reading, and are not universally accessible. I have, therefore, thought it worth while to try and present some of his principal results in a convenient and intelligible form. My special subject, the Gupta Dynasty from Candragupta I to Skanda Gupta, can no longer remain isolated. It must be considered in connection with its contemporaries and successors.

In a restricted sense the term "Gupta Period" may be interpreted to mean only the period extending from the accession of Candragupta I to the death of Skanda Gupta, or about A. D. 320 to 480. In a more extended sense it may be taken to comprise the three centuries from A. D. 300 to 606, when Harṣa Vardhana became the chief power in Northern India and founded his era. When the term is taken in this more extended sense, all the coinages of the Later Indo-Scythians, except the earlier issues of the Later Great Kuṣāns, fall within the Gupta period.

During the whole of these three centuries coins form almost our sole authority for the history of the Pañjāb, the chief supplementary sources of information being the meagre notes of Fa-Hian and Sung-yun. The Pañjāb seems never to have been included in the Gupta Empire.

For the history of the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Bihār the materials are considerably more ample, inasmuch as the numerous Gupta inscriptions on stone and metal supply a record more detailed than that which coins can furnish. The culminating point of the Gupta Empire may be placed approximately in the year A. D. 410, when Candragupta II had completed his conquest of Mālwa and

¹ Dates are given in round numbers without any pretension to minute accuracy.

Gujarāt. No indications of decline, so far as I am aware, are discernable in our records of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I. The fierce conflicts with the Huns recorded in the Bhitari inscription of Skanda Gupta appear to have been the immediate cause of the break up of the Empire.

These preliminary observations will, it is hoped, help to make more easily intelligible the perplexing coinages of the Later Indo-Scythians.

Cunningham classes the Later Indo-Scythians in three main groups :—

- I. The Later Great Kuṣāns.
- II. The Later Little Kuṣāns.
- III. The Ephthalites, or White Huns.¹

Coins of all these three groups exist in considerable number and variety.

Section I. THE LATER GREAT KUṢĀNS.

The coins of the later kings of the Great Kuṣān tribe (Ta-yue-ti of the Chinese, Tuṣāra of the Hindu, and Τόχαροι of the Greek writers), “formed the money of the Kābul valley and the Pañjāb from the time of Vāsudēva’s death, or about A. D. 180 or 200, down to the settlement of *Kidāra Shāh*, or *Ki-to-lo*, in Gāndhāra, about A.D. 425.

Ki-to-lo, the king of the Great Kuṣāns, established his son in *Purushāwar*, or Peshāwar, and thus formed the kingdom of the *Little Yue-ti*, or Lesser Kuṣāns.”²

The coins of the Later Great Kuṣāns are divided by Cunningham into two classes, characterized as follows :—

Class A.

A numerous series of gold coins bearing the names of Kanīṣka or Vasudēva³ in Greek letters on the margin, always accompanied by Indian (Nāgarī) letters in the field outside the king’s spear or trident,

¹ Cunningham’s papers on the Later Indo-Scythians include one on the Scytho-Sassanians (*Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 166), but the connection of the Scytho-Sassanian coins there described by him with India is so remote that I pass them over.

² *Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 115.

³ Cunningham invariably writes *Vāsu* with the long vowel. The coins figured by him, and every coin which I have seen, give the name under the king’s arm as वसु *Vasu*. The full name *Vasudēva* does not occur in Nāgarī characters. I use the term Nāgarī to mean any form of the Sanskrit alphabet. Cunningham uses the inconveniently vague term “Indian.” The general description of each class of coins is compiled from several passages in Cunningham’s essay.

and generally by other Nāgarī letters on the left, near the king's right foot, and in the middle between the king's feet.

Obverse. King standing, as in the earlier coins, with his right hand extended over a small altar, and holding in his left hand either a spear or a trident.

Marginal legend in modified Greek characters, *Ṣaonano Ṣao Kaneṣko* (or *Bazodēo*) *Koṣano*, 'The Kuṣān King of Kings, Kaneṣko (or Bazodēo.)'

Reverse. Either the throne-seated goddess Ardokṣo (Lakṣmī), with her name, or the god Okṣo (Çiva), standing in front of the bull, with his name. The reverse name legend is always in modified Greek characters. Monogram. Nāgarī letters occasionally occur on the reverse.

When the reverse has the Okṣo device the king carries the Çaiva trident. When the reverse device is Ardokṣo, the king carries a spear. The Lakṣmī coins are those of the eastern provinces, and are found chiefly in North-Western India. The Çiva coins are found chiefly in the Western Pañjāb and the Kābul valley.

The interpretation of the brief Nāgarī legends on this class of coins is quite uncertain. Cunningham has classified the known forms, but concerning their interpretation can only say that "On these gold coins I think it probable that we have the names in monogram of some of the first successors of the great Kushān princes, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudēva. On some coins the names may perhaps be those of the satraps or governors of particular provinces. In this case I should expect to find the name of the province, or city of the satrap, in addition to his name."¹

These legends include sixteen monosyllables, namely, *Bha*, *Bhr*, *Cu*, *Chu*, *Ga*, *Ha*, *Khu*, *Nya*, *Pa*, *Pu*, *Ru*, *Sa*, *Si*, *Thā*, *Vai*, and *Vi*; and three dissyllables, namely *Mahi*, *Vasu*, and *Vīru*, in the Ardokṣo reverse class; and seven monosyllables, namely *Aum*, *Ga*, *Ghō*, *Ha*, *Hu*, *Phri*, *Pri*, and *Thā*; and two dissyllables, *Rada*, and *Raju* in the Okṣo class.

Dr. Hoey possesses a specimen in good condition similar to Cunningham's Plate viii, 8. The reverse device is *Ardokṣo*, and the obverse legends in field are *Vasu* outside spear, *Ga* between king's legs, and *Bha* at his right foot.

Another coin in the same cabinet (Plate VI, fig. 12), though not represented in Cunningham's lists, would seem to belong to Class A of the coinage of the Later Great Kuṣāns.

Obverse.—Over king's left shoulder a wheel or disk, which may perhaps, be the top of a standard. Marginal legend in Greek characters,

¹ *Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 119.

Nono şao koşono. Outside spear, vertically, a name in Nāgarī characters which seems to be *Magra*.

Reverse. Throned goddess, and remains of illegible legend.

I cannot find any published notice of a coin like this.

The coins of Class A are evidently earlier than those of Class B, about to be described, and probably are to be ascribed for the most part to the third century A.D. The mechanical execution is good and clear, though the style is stiff and conventional.

LATER GREAT KUŞĀNS—*Class B.*

The coins of this class are chiefly of gold, and some of the scarce copper specimens are ancient forgeries of gold coins.

Greek letters, if present at all on the obverse, are reduced to a meaningless repetition of *O*. They have completely disappeared from the reverse. Frequently, there is no trace of Greek letters. The obverse Nāgarī legends occur in three places, *viz.*, (1) outside spear, (2) under king's arm, (3) near the altar, below his right-hand. There is no letter between the king's feet.

The reverse device is invariably that of the throned goddess. Her name is not given, as it is in Class A. In some cases, one or two Nāgarī characters are inserted between her left arm and the margin.

The name under the king's arm must be that of the issuing prince, probably, in general, a local governor or satrap. It is often a monosyllable, *e.g.*, *Mi*, *Bha*; but is sometimes a Hindū name, *e.g.*, *Samudra*. The coins with monosyllabic Tartar names may be considered earlier than those with Hindū names. It must have required a considerable time to Hinduize the invaders. Cunningham believes the names outside the spear to be those of provinces. Thomas preferred to interpret them as names of tribes. At present, it seems impossible to prove either interpretation.¹ Cunningham remarks that "all these coins are found in the Northern Pañjāb." They are also found in the North-Western Provinces, if we may class in this group the numerous *Kidara Kaşana* coins, of which 62 were found in the Bijnor District in 1888.²

These coins, which are of a common type, occur both in gold and copper (? brass). The name under the arm may be read as कृ *Kada*, कृ *Kadi*, कृ *Kidu*, and कृ *Kidara*, on various specimens. The word outside the spear is certainly कृ *Kaşana*, which Cunningham interprets

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1893, p. 120; *Indian Antiquary* vol. xii, pp. 6-11.

² Described by Dr. Hoernle in *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for 1888, p. 205.

as *Kuṣāṇa*. The letter near the altar is often ॠ *ṣa*. Occasionally there is a character on the reverse, which on a specimen in my possession (brass) may perhaps be read as *Lō*.

The name *Kidara*¹ under the king's arm seems to require the classification of these coins with those of the Little *Kuṣāns*, or *Kidarites*, which will presently be noticed; but the coins now under discussion seem to be of much earlier date. Cunningham figures one of these coins (*Num. Chron.* for 1893, Pl. XV, 3), and describes it (p. 199) as follows—"A. Diam. .85. Wt. 118.

Obv. King standing to left, as on the earlier *Kushān* coins of Kanishka and his successors. Indian letters or monograms in three places. To right, *Kushāna*; under king's arm, *Kidāra*; to left, *Kapan* (? for *Kophene*). I conclude 'The *Kushān* king *Kidāra* of *Kapan*.'

Rev. The goddess *Ardokhsho* (*Lakshmi*) seated on throne with cornucopiæ in her left hand. I found a duplicate of this coin in the Baotipind Stūpa, to the north of Hadon (*sic.* ? *Hasan*) Abdāl."

Cunningham includes this coin in his Little *Kuṣān* plate.

The other *Kidarite* coins, which he describes and figures, are much ruder in execution and have different legends.

Cunningham also describes Later Great *Kuṣān*, Class B, coins, which have the name *Kirada* (not *Kidara*) under the arm, but these coins have the word *Gaḍahara*, and not *Kaṣaṇa*, outside the spear. The *Kidara-Kaṣaṇa* coins appear to me to belong to the same class as the *Bha Śaka*,² *Samudra Gaḍakhara*, and other pieces which Cunningham groups together as Class B of the Later Great *Kuṣāns*. The devices are executed in sharp, clearly-cut relief, and show little or none of the degradation which characterizes the other *Kidarite* coins in Cunningham's plate XV. I do not think it possible that the well-executed *Kidara* coins can be so late as A. D. 430, the approximate date of the occupation of *Gāndhāra*, by *Ki-to-lo*, the Little *Kuṣān* Chief. Cunningham always assumes that the Chinese name *Ki-to-lo* is identical with the *Kidara* of the coins. But the identity does not seem to be proved. Even if the names are identical, it is quite possible that the name or title *Kidara* may have been in use among the *Kuṣāns* long before A. D. 430.

I am inclined to think that the well-executed *Kidara-Kaṣaṇa* coins

¹ Cunningham writes *Kidāra*. I cannot find the long *a*. Thomas writes *Kidara*.

² Cunningham writes *Śaka*, but I cannot find any trace of the long vowel. Thomas writes the word with the vowel short.

are as early as A. D. 300 or 350, and that they are approximately contemporaneous with the *Bhr-Śaka*, *Kirada-Gaḍahara*, *Bhadra-Pakalhdhi*, and similar coins grouped together by Cunningham as Class B of the Later Great Kuṣāns.

The question of the date of these coins requires further investigation.

Section II. LITTLE KUṢĀNS (Kidāritai).

The Little Kuṣāns were a branch of the Great Kuṣāns, and occupied Gāndhāra in or about the years A.D. 425–30,¹ under a leader called *Ki-to-lo* by the Chinese, who is supposed to be the *Kidara* of the coins.

About the end of the fifth century, the Little Kuṣān chiefs of Gāndhāra were driven out by the White Huns or Ephthalites, under Lae-lih, and obliged to retreat into neighbouring regions. They probably ruled in the country to the west of Kāçmīr — in *Shāh-dhērī* and *Mansērā*, to the east of the Indus, and in *Yasin* and *Chitrāl* to the west of the river.²

The Kidarite, or Little Kuṣān, coins of the fifth century occur in gold, silver and copper.³

The rare silver coins are broad, thin pieces, resembling the Sassanian coins of Persia. Some bear a date, read by Cunningham as 339, probably equivalent, according to the Çaka reckoning, to A.D. 417, a little before the conquest of Gāndhāra.

The gold, and most of the copper coins, are rude imitations of the ordinary Kuṣān coinage, with the sacrificing king on the obverse, and the seated goddess on the reverse.

Greek legends have completely disappeared.

The word *Kidara*, more or less complete, is always found below the king's left arm, and seems to be used as a general dynastic name.

In some cases, letters occur below the king's right hand, but there is no vertical legend outside the spear.

The reverse margin presents various names, *Kidara*, *Kṣatrapa Tarīka*, *Çrī Viçva*, *Çrī Kṛtavīrya*, *Çrī Silāditya*, *Çrī Kusala*, and *Çrī Prakāça*; as read by Cunningham.

Dr. Hoey has a coin which seems to belong to this series, though not included in Cunningham's lists.

¹ Von Gutschmid (quoted by Stein, *Zur Geschichte der Çahis von Kābul*, Stuttgart, 1893) gives the date as A.D. 430.

² *Numismatic Chronicle* (1893) p. 190.

³ The detailed catalogue is given, *ibid.*, pp. 199–202.

The name under the king's right hand is clearly कच *Kaca*, with doubtful traces of two preceding characters.

The symbol **S**, which may be the numeral 100, is near the right reverse margin. It is possible to read this character, or symbol, as स *sa*.

It will be useful to give the principal references for the Later Kuṣān Coins, in addition to Cunningham's paper.

Prinsep's Essays (Thomas.) :—

- Plate xxii, 4. Later Great Kuṣān, Class A, Okṣo rev.
 Do. do. 11. ditto ditto Lakṣmī (Ardokhṣo) rev.
 Do. do. 12. ditto ditto ditto.
 Do. do. 13. Little Kuṣān (or ? Great Kuṣān, Class B).
 Do. do. 14. Later Great Kuṣān, Class B.
 Do. do. 15. Little Kuṣān, rude, late.
 Do. xxix, 10. Later Great Kuṣān, Class A.
 Do. xxx, 16, 17, 19, 20. Little Kuṣān.
 Do. do. 18. Later Great Kuṣān, Class B. (?)
 Do. xxxi, 4. ditto ditto ditto.
 Do. do. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9. Little Kuṣān, rude, late.

Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal :—

- 1885, p. 129. 5 Little Kuṣān coins from Gurdāspur District. One *Vasu*, Later Great Kuṣān, Class A, from Bhāgalpur District.
 1888, p. 132. Pl. iv, 7, 8. Later Great Kuṣān, Class B.
 Do. 9. Little Kuṣān.
Ib. p. 180, and woodcut, p. 183. 57 very debased Little Kuṣān-type coins of Yaçōvarmman, circa A.D. 532.
Ib. p. 205. 62 Later Great Kuṣān coins, Class B, from Bijnōr District (or ? Early Little Kuṣān.)
 1890, p. 178. 25 Little Kuṣān coins from Rāwalpindī, (similar to the Bijnōr coins).
Ib. p. 179. Ditto ditto from Hardōi, in Oudh, (same as Prinsep, Pl. xxx, 19).
 1891, p. 65. Three more Little Kuṣān coins from Hardōi, apparently, like the others, of Kṛtavīrya.
 One ditto of *Çrī Cacca* (श्रीचक्र.)

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII. p. 6, *Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindī Legends*,¹ with wood cuts (Thomas).

Twelve Kuṣān coins are described in the paper by Thomas. No. 1

¹ By the odd phrase "Hindi legends" Thomas meant legends in the ancient Sanskrit (Nāgarī) character.

is a *Vasu* coin of the Later Great Kuṣāns, Class A, Ardokhṣo or Lakṣmī device. No. 11 *a*, a *Mahi* coin, is to some extent intermediate in character between Class A and Class B. Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 121) classes it in A.

The remaining coins, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, belong to Class B of the Later Great Kuṣāns, if the *Kirada Kaṣana* coins (No. 8) may be so classed.¹ (See *ante*, p. 181).

The later Indo-Scythian coins are further discussed from an historical point of view by Thomas in his short paper, entitled *Extracts from Chinese Authors concerning the History of the Kushans*, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 19, which is based on M. Edouard Specht's treatise, entitled '*Etudes sur l'Asie Centrale, d'après les Historiens Chinois*, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1883. Further references to the *Ariana Antiqua* and other books will be found in the papers cited above.

The heading *Coins, Indo-Scythian (later)*, in my *General Index to the Archaeological Reports*, is unfortunate, though not altogether erroneous. It is used there to distinguish the Indo-Scythian coins proper, from the coins described by Cunningham in pages 58–60 of Volume II of the *Reports*, which include the coins of Azes, Vonones, Gondophares, and others. These princes may be called "Early Indo-Scythians," and so distinguished from the Kadphises kings, and the line of Kaniṣka, who may be called "Later Indo-Scythians." This is the sense in which the term "Later Indo-Scythians" is used in my *Index*. The references under this heading mostly, if not all, refer to coins of Wemia Kadphises, Kaniṣka, etc., and not to the coins now under discussion.

The term Indo-Scythian has become an encumbrance and a hindrance to exact knowledge. It is a pity that Sir Alexander Cunningham has given the sanction of his great name to the continued use of such a misleading and confusing term.

PART V.—THE INDIAN COINAGE OF THE EPHTHALITES OR WHITE HUNS, AND THE GUPTA SILVER COINS.

Section I.—THE WHITE HUNS.

The important part played by the White Huns in the history of Northern India during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era has only lately been recognized by historical students. This Central Asian tribe, which first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century, is known by a most inconvenient variety

¹ The paper treats of 14 coins in all. One is a coin of Nara Bālāditya, and another is a coin of Viṣṇu Candrāditya.

of names. The Chinese writers call them Yuan-yuan, Yetha-i-lito, Yetha, or Himatala (Hiuen Tsiang). The Greek historians knew them as Οὔννοι, Λευκοὶ Οὔννοι, Εφθαλίται, or Νεφθαλίται. The Armenians call them Hunk, and in Sanskrit authors they are named Hūṇa (or Hūna), Sita Hūṇa (*Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, xi, 61), Ḷvēta-Hūṇa (*ibid.*, xvi, 38), or Hāra-Hūṇa.¹

The earliest Indian inscription which mentions the Huns is the Bhitari inscription of Skanda Gupta, *circa* A.D. 470, which records (l. 15), the fact that the king “joined in close conflict with the Hūṇas.” (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 56.) The Mandasōr inscription of Yaçōdharman, king of Northern India, *circa* A.D. 535, alleges that his prowess was displayed by invading those parts of the earth, “which the command of the chiefs of the Hūṇas, that established itself on the tiaras of many kings, failed to penetrate.” (*ibid.*, p. 148.) The inscription of Ādityasēna, king of Magadha, mentions the defeat by Dāmōdara Gupta (*circa* A.D. 565), of the Maukharis, who had themselves defeated the Hūṇas. (*ibid.*, p. 206.)

These records show that, during the first half of the sixth century and the latter part of the fifth, the invading and aggressive Huns were in constant conflict with the Gupta and other native kings of Northern India.

The Indian history of the White Huns begins with a chief called Lae-lih by the Chinese, who established himself on the Indus near the close (*circa* A.D. 470–480) of the fifth century.

The son of Lae-lih appears to have been Tōramāṇa.² Two inscriptions of this king are known. The inscription on the boar statue at Ēraṇ in the Sāgar District of the Central Provinces is dated in the first year of his reign (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 159.) The second inscription, which was found recently at Kura in the Salt Range, calls him Mahārāja Tōramāṇa Śāha Jaūvla, and has been edited by Dr. Bühler (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 238). Dr. Bühler denies the identity of this prince with the Tōramāṇa of the Ēraṇ record, but Cunningham has no doubt of the identity, and I think he is right.

Tōramāṇa succeeded in extending his dominion over a wide area,

¹ Most of the above synonyms are given by Cunningham (*Trans. Intern. Congress of Orientalists*, 1892, Vol. I, p. 222), but he makes a slight error in asserting that “by the Indians they are always called *Hūṇa* or *Hāra Hūṇa*.” The references to the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāha Mihira are given in Dr. Fleet’s valuable paper entitled *The Topographical List of the Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (*Indian Ant.*, Vol. XXII (1893), pp. 169–195). Hūna हून is a various reading for Hūṇa हूण.

² The name Tōramāṇa is not Indian. It is supposed to be connected with the Turkish word *turamān*, meaning a ‘rebel’ or ‘insurgent.’ (*Epigr. Ind. l. c.*)

including the Pañjāb, Kāçmīr, Mālwā, and a considerable portion of the North-Western Provinces.

He was succeeded about the year A.D. 515, by his son Mihirakula (Mihirgul),¹ who is mentioned under that name by Hiuen-Tsiang and the author of the Rāja Tarāᅅgiᅅi. He must be identified with Gollas the king of the Indian White Huns mentioned by Kosmas Indikopleustes (A.D. 522–530), and with the unnamed Ephthalite king of Gāndhāra visited by the Chinese envoy Sung-yun in A.D. 520. He seems also to be the person called Hunimanta, king of Persia, and ruler over Lāhōr and Multān, by Tārānāth, the historian of Buddhism.

The Mandasōr inscription of Yaçōdharman, already referred to, asserts that Mihirakula did homage to Yaçōdharman, and an inscription at Gwāliōr is dated in the fifteenth year of Mihirakula, the son of Tōramāᅅa (*Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 148, 150, 161.)

The reign of Mihirakula ended about A.D. 544–550. I will not at present stop to examine critically the conflicting, and in great part mythical, accounts of the alleged events of his reign. It seems to be the fact that about A.D. 544 he was defeated by a coalition of Indian princes, driven out of India proper, and compelled to retire to Kāçmīr and the neighbouring regions.

The above sketch will suffice for its purpose on this occasion, which is merely to indicate approximately the dates and historical position of the coinage of Tōramāᅅa and Mihirakula.

The coins of both these princes require much further examination and elucidation before they can be arranged satisfactorily. The leading and most recent authority on the subject is Cunningham's already cited paper in the Transactions of the Congress of 1892. Unfortunately, it has been published without the plates which were intended to accompany and illustrate the text.² The notices of the coins in Cunningham's dissertation are mixed up with much extraneous matter. I shall endeavour to make the subject somewhat clearer and more intelligible by disentangling the numismatic facts, and adding what I can from other sources. But my readers will please clearly understand that the present attempt to describe the Indian coinage of Tōramāᅅa and Mihirakula is merely preliminary and tentative.

The coins of both kings occur in both silver and copper, and are not

¹ This date is certainly approximately correct. (Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. XV., p. 252).

² I understand that it is likely that the plates will appear in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. (During the passage of this paper through the press, the plates have appeared in the *Num. Chron.* for 1894). Many of the White Hun coins are figured in Plates xxxiii. and xxxiv. of Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*.

certainly known in gold, though it is probable that many of the rude imitations of the Gupta gold Archer coins are of White Hun origin. The main characteristic of the White Hun coinage is its want of originality. The White Huns were a rude and unlettered people,¹ and they were generally content to imitate as well as they could the coins of the various countries which they over-ran. The result is that the Hun coinage occurs in widely varying forms, Persian, Parthian, Indian and Indo-Roman.²

Section II.—TōRAMĀṆA, SILVER COINS.

In one passage Cunningham divides the silver coins of Tōramāṇa into two classes as follows:—

I.—Broad thin pieces of Sassanian type.

Obv. King's head, with a club in front of the face. Legend in Gupta characters, *Ṣāhi Jabubla* or *Jabula*.

Rev. Traces of fire-altar and its attendants.

II. Small hemidrachms, exactly like those of the Fantail Peacock type of Kumāra Gupta I, Skanda Gupta, Budha Gupta, Bhīma Sēna, and Īcāna Varman, except that Tōramāṇa's head is turned to the left.

But this division of Tōramāṇa's silver coins is not exhaustive. In a later page Cunningham gives details which show that three main types of Tōramāṇa's silver coinage are known. These are—

- i. Horseman.
- ii. Sassanian Bust.
- iii. Fantail Peacock hemidrachms.

I proceed to describe each class.

I.—Horseman Type.

Obv. Horseman to right. Discus and shell of Viṣṇu, or (?) vase, in field. Ephthalite symbol behind horseman. Marginal legend in Gupta characters *Ṣāhi Jabula* on one specimen, and apparently *Ṣāhi Janabula* on the other.

Rev. The usual fire-altar and supporters, rudely executed. Diam. .90 and .80. Wt. 53 and 50.5.³

¹ So Cunningham: "the illiterate White Huns" (*Trans.*, p. 234). Gibbon, whom he cites, gave them the epithet of "polite" (*Ch.* 42); but their rudeness is vouched for by Sung-yun, who visited them both in Central Asia and Gāndhāra.

² The silver coins follow Persian and Parthian models; the copper pieces are mainly Indian; and the gold (if any gold coins are Hun issues) copy the Gupta coinage, which may be concisely characterized as Indo-Roman.

³ Cunningham's coins, each of which he believed to be unique, are figured in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, Pl. ix (vii), fig. 8, 9.

The coins described by Cunningham, appear to be the only two specimens known. But a very similar coin is described and figured in Prinsep's *Essays*, Pl. xxxiii., 1. The description of this piece is as follows:—

Obv. Horseman to right; crescent over head; Ephthalite symbol behind horseman; vase over horse's head. Marginal legend supposed to be Pahlavī, but probably Greek (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 277).

Rev. Indistinct, probably fire-altar and supporters.

This coin was in Prinsep's cabinet. The find-spot is not stated. Weight not stated. Diam. 1 inch. It closely resembles Cunningham's fig. 9.

Cunningham's coins are ascribed to Tōramāṇa the White Hun, on account of the legend *Jabula* or *Janabula*, which seems to be identical with the Jaūvla (जबुलः) of the Kura inscription of Mahārāja Tōramāṇa Śāha Jaūvla. But the title Jaūvla may be "a tribal name or *biruda*,"¹ and its occurrence on a coin does not necessitate the ascription of that coin to Tōramāṇa. The coin might possibly be his father's, or his son's. But it is, most probably, assigned rightly to Tōramāṇa.

II.—Sassanian Bust Type.

Obv. Bust of king to right; with a cap adorned with a crescent in front. Marginal legend in Gupta characters, षाहि जबुलः, *Śāhi Jabūvlaḥ*, or जबुल *Jabula*.

Rev. Indistinct; the coin in one instance being *repoussé*. Diam. 1 and 1.10. Wt. 56 and 50.5.

Cunningham describes four or five coins of this class (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 278, Pl. ix (vii), figs. 10, 13). Similar coins are known of *Dēva Śāhi Kھیṅgila* and of *Rājā La[khana] Udayāditya*.²

Dēva Śāhi Kھیṅgila is identified with Kھیṅkhila, who is mentioned in the *Rāja Taraṅgiṇī* as one of the kings who succeeded Mihirakula, and is said to have been also known by the Hindū title of *Narēndrāditya*.³ Copper coins of the period with the legend *Jayatu Ḥrī Narēndra* exist, and may have been issued by the same chief.

¹ Bühler, *Epigraph. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 239.

² Cunningham possessed only one coin of Kھیṅgila. (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 26). He dates him in A.D. 580. He had four specimens of *Udayāditya*, and Mr. Theobald has one.

³ Cunningham describes and figures two rude gold coins of a king of Kāçmīr bearing the legend *Ḥrī Narēndra*, whom he identifies with the *Narēndrāditya* of the *Rāja Taraṅgiṇī*. These coins are of the ordinary debased Kidarite type, with *Kidara* under the king's arm. (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 43, Pl. iii, fig. 5). This *Ḥrī Narēndra* seems to be distinct from *Kھیṅgila Narēndrāditya*.

The obverses of two specimens of Udayāditya's coinage are depicted in very clear woodcuts (Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. I, p. 411) in Prinsep's *Essays*. The legend is perfectly legible and unmistakable, except for the second and third character of the second word. Prinsep read the word as *Lamata*. Cunningham reads it doubtfully as *Lakhana*. The first character is certainly ल *La*, and, in the woodcuts; the third character seems to be त *ta*, not न *na*. The medial character is dubious. It is unfortunate that the second word of the legend, which must be the real personal name, is doubtful. *Udayāditya* appears to be a mere title, similar to the *Vikramāditya*, *Bālāditya*, and other titles of like formation assumed by the Gupta kings.

Cunningham suggests that the Udayāditya coins may have been struck by Lae-lih, the father of Tōramāṇa.¹

A large class of anonymous coins, devoid of any kind of legend, should probably be arranged as a sub-division of the Sassanian Bust coins of Tōramāṇa.

A hoard of 175 silver Indo-Sassanian coins found somewhere in Mārwarā was examined by Dr. Hoernle. The coins were of the ordinary Indo-Sassanian pattern, the obverse device being that of the king's bust to right, and the reverse that of a fire-altar with supporters.

These coins copy so closely the issue of Fīrūz, king of Persia from A.D. 459–486,² while they omit his name, that they must be regarded as nearly contemporary imitations of his coinage. Dr. Hoernle shows that the coins found in Mārwarā reproduce "every one" of the details which characterize the later period (*circa* A.D. 471–486) of the reign of Fīrūz, "though in somewhat cruder execution." The only exception is that the Mārwarā coins have no legend whatsoever. These coins are readily divisible into two classes, one with the king's head of distinctly Sassanian type, and the second, much less numerous, with a king's head of rude, thick-lipped, barbarian type.

Dr. Hoernle's assignment of these uninscribed Indo-Sassanian coins to Tōramāṇa having been ignored by Cunningham, I had better give Dr. Hoernle's very cogent arguments in his own words:—

"The age of the coins may be determined by their remarkably close imitation of Fīrūz's coins.

They cannot be genuine coins of Fīrūz for two reasons, (1) be-

¹ *Trans.*, p. 228. The coin of Pūrvāditya (woodcut No. 2) and others belong to the same class (Prinsep's *Essays*, *l. c.*; *Num. Chron.* for 1894, pp. 285 *seqq.*)

² Cunningham places the death of Fīrūz and his defeat by the Huns in A.D. 483. Gibbon (*chap.* xl), gives the date as A.D. 488, and observes in the note that "the chronology has been ably ascertained by Asseman (*Biblio. Orient.* iii, p. 396)."

cause their execution does not quite come up to the standard of Firūz's known genuine coins; and (2) because they do not bear any Pahlavī legend. At the same time they must be of Firūz's time, that is, of the latter part of the fifth century, A.D.; they cannot be of a later date, for in that case they would rather imitate Sassanian coins of Firūz's successors. From the absence of any Pahlavī legend and Sassanide king's name, it may be concluded that the coins were not issued either by a Sassanide king, or by any of his vassals or governors. They must be the issue of some hostile king, who adopted Firūz's coinage, but omitted Firūz's name.

It is known from history that during the latter part of his reign Firūz was engaged in calamitous campaigns against the White Huns in which he lost his life. The Huns annexed the eastern districts of the Sassanide kingdom (*Khorāsān* and *Kābul*), and then passed on to the invasion of India.

It was probably their leader, who about this time (A.D. 470-486) adopted Firūz's coinage. He naturally omitted Firūz's name, though he at first retained Firūz's likeness on the obverse (Class I). Subsequently he appears to have substituted his own likeness for that of Firūz (Class II).

At the time of the Hunnic invasion of India, their leaders were *Tōramāṇa* and his son *Mihirakula*. The latter succeeded his father about A.D. 515; and *Tōramāṇa* appears to have had a rather long reign, so that he may have succeeded to the leadership of the Huns about A.D. 470, or perhaps even earlier. (See Fleet's Introduction to Vol. III., of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, pp. 10-12). His Indian campaigns, during which he conquered *Kāçmīr*, the *Pañjāb*, *Sindh*, *Rājputānā* and a portion of Central India, probably fell within the period A.D. 490-510.

In India it is known that he imitated the contemporary Gupta [silver] coinage, and he appears to have observed a similar practice in *Kāçmīr*. It is, therefore, probable that he followed a similar course during the period of his conquest of portions of the Sassanide kingdom, and that the coins of the present find, the age of which coincides with that of *Tōramāṇa*, are issues of the latter king. They may have been carried by his advancing army into India, and thus be brought to the place where they have now been discovered.

It is curious that these coins should bear no legend whatsoever, though *Tōramāṇa*'s Indian, as well as *Kāçmīrian*, imitated coins are inscribed with his name.

Perhaps the fact may be accounted for by the circumstance that his Sassanian imitations were his first attempt at coining money of his

own. If my suggestion that these coins are issues of Tōramāṇa should prove to be correct, the barbarian head on the obverse of Class II, may be a portrait of Tōramāṇa himself.”¹

I think it probable that these anonymous coins were really issued by Tōramāṇa, as suggested by Dr. Hoernle. The king's head is so rudely executed in all the varieties that to call it a “portrait” is rather an exaggeration. It seems to me a merely conventional delineation. Multitudes of rude coins of Sassanian type without legends have been found in Northern India, of which many may have been struck by leaders of the Huns. The coins of the hoard described by Dr. Hoernle in detail are only remarkable because they imitate so closely the coins of one Persian king issued within the limits of a period of about sixteen years, and can, consequently, be dated with approximate accuracy, and assigned with probability to a particular Hun chief.

I have some small size anonymous Indo-Sassanian coins which were found at Bhitari between Ghāzipur and Benares. Some obtained at that place by Cunningham were assigned by him to the eighth or ninth century,² but I am inclined to think that they must be earlier. Similar coins have been found at Indōr Khērā in the Bulandshahr District, associated with ruins of the Gupta period.³ A rude reminiscence of the Sassanian reverse device is found as late as A.D. 900 on the coins of Vighraha Pāla of Magadha.⁴

Like most branches of Indian numismatics, the Indo-Sassanian series requires much more study and elucidation than it has yet received.

To return to Tōramāṇa.

III.—Fantail Peacock Hemidrachm Type.

His hemidrachms with Fantail Peacock reverse exactly copy the Gupta coins of the same type, except that the king's head is turned to the left, instead of the right. The only two specimens hitherto

¹ *Proc., A. S. B.*, for 1889, p. 229. Figures of typical specimens of each variety of the hoard will be found in *Jour., A. S. B.*, Pt i, Vol. LIX, (1890), Pl. v. Some specimens from the hoard are now in the British Museum.

² *Arch. Rep.*, Vol. I, p. 97.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 44, 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 175, 181, Pl. xliii. The coins with the Sassanian device evidently belong to the first Vighraha Pāla. His namesake lived about a century later. See *Coins of Mediæval India*, pp. 49 to 52.

known, which are in the British Museum, have been repeatedly described and figured.¹

Dr. Hoey has been fortunate enough to acquire a third specimen, (now, I am sorry to say, mislaid). This coin is (or was) in good, though not brilliant, condition, and the legend (without vowel marks) is quite distinct, वज्रतावनरवनपत श्री तारमण, *vijitāvanir-avanipati Ṣrī Tōramāṇa*. The date is lost.

Three interesting coins in Dr. Hoey's cabinet, which are of the same type as the hemidrachms of Tōramāṇa and the Guptas, deserve notice.

No. 1. (Pl. VI, fig. 13). *Obv.* Head to left, as in Tōramāṇa's coins. Date, apparently in same era as Tōramāṇa's, 54. *Rev.* Fantail Peacock device. Legend, with vowel marks विजितावनिरवनिप *vijitāvanir-avanipa*.—The rest, including the king's name, is, unfortunately, completely obliterated. This coin is probably one of Īcāna Varman, (whose date, according to Cunningham, is *circa* A.D. 560). A specimen of his coinage with the same date as Dr. Hoey's coin is figured in *Coins of Mediæval India*, Pl. ii, 12. Although the date is quite plain, Cunningham notes it as "not read." This date in the unknown era for Īcāna Varman is of importance, both for determining the close of Tōramāṇa's reign in Magadha, and for fixing the era.

No. 2. (Pl. VI, fig. 14). *Obv.* Head to left, as in No. 1, but the head differs. On this No. 2 coin, the king has a hooked nose. Date, in same era, 58. *Rev.* Fantail Peacock device. Legend, with vowel marks, विजितावनिरवनिपति श्री शर्ब्ब वम्म देव जयति, *vijitāvanir-avanipati Ṣrī Ṣarvva Varmma dēva jayati*.

These two coins are closely related to three coins in the British Museum, concerning which nothing has been published except my brief remark (*Coinage*, p. 136) — "There are three similar [*scil.* to Tōra-

¹ The references are :—

Archæological Survey of W. India (Thomas), Vol. II, p. 36, Pl. vii, 27, 28. This notice is reprinted in the volume entitled *Records of the Gupta Dynasty* (Trübner, 1876).

Archæological Survey of India (Cunningham), Vol. IX, p. 26, Pl. v, 18, 19.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, p. 225 (Fleet).

J. Roy. As. Soc. for 1889 (V. A. Smith), p. 136.

Trans. of Intern. Congress of Orientalists (Cunningham), London, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 228, 229. *Coins of Mediæval India* (Cunningham), p. 20, Pl. ii, 11. The author repeats the old error of reading *dēva janita* for *dēvō jayati*.

māṇa's] coins with head to left, in B.M., presented by Miss Baring, on two of which the date seems to be 54, but I could not decipher the king's name. It did not appear to be Tōramāṇa." I regret that I did not examine these pieces more closely when I had the opportunity.

The two British Museum coins of Tōramāṇa are both certainly dated in the year 52. Dr. Hoey's coins now published add the dates 54 and 58. The legend on the coin dated 58 is damaged, and every letter of the king's name cannot be read with certainty. But the name begins with श ञा, and I have no doubt that the reading above given is correct. Ṣarvva Varman (Varmmā) Maukharī was the son and successor of Īcāna Varman. The coin now published is the first which has been recognized as belonging to Ṣarvva Varman. Dr. Fleet has published a seal of Ṣarvva Varman (श्री शर्व्व वर्मर्मा मौखरिः) in *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 220, Pl. xxx.

The era in which all three coins are dated is as yet undetermined.

Dr. Fleet's theory as to the 52 date is that it is a regnal year. "It is plain, therefore," he observes, "that Tōramāṇa did exercise sovereign sway in the Pañjāb; at the beginning of his career, and before he commenced the campaign in the course of which he eventually reached Mālwā. If, now, we interpret the year on his coins as a regnal year, it certainly indicates a long reign. But analogous instances could be quoted for this; and no special exception need be taken to it.

"And this interpretation of the date is at any rate better than the assumption that it is reckoned from some period, anterior to Tōramāṇa's accession, at which his own branch of the Hūṇas first rose to power; for that would mean that, not satisfied with the Ṣaka era, which was the hereditary and national era of that part of the country, and probably of his own ancestors also, he sought to establish a new era, dating from that event.

"This, accordingly, is the interpretation that I place upon the date. And, reckoning back from A.D. 515, which is very closely the latest terminal date that can be applied, it follows that the commencement of his reign, at his own capital in the Pañjāb, is to be placed approximately in A.D. 460."¹

This interpretation, never satisfactory, is rendered impossible by the discovery of coins of other kings dated evidently in the same era, and must, in my opinion, for that, and for other good reasons, be rejected.

A suggestion of Cunningham's that the era used is the Ṣaka, with the hundreds omitted, is, for several reasons, equally untenable.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII (1889), p. 229.

The best solution of the problem yet offered seems to me to be Cunningham's alternative guess that the date is expressed in a special White Hun Era. "The only remarkable date in the history of the White Huns which I can suggest is the final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chu-Khān in A.D. 456 or 457. If the year 52 be reckoned from this point, we get A.D. 508 or 509 for the establishment of Tōramāṇa's rule in Mālwā."¹

I think it is tolerably clear that an era otherwise unknown is used on these coins, and it may be provisionally named the White Hun Era. The limiting dates for Tōramāṇa appear to be fixed with tolerable precision. Īçāna Varman has been provisionally dated by Dr. Hoernle in A. D. 564. This date must apparently be moved back. If the Hun Era is taken as A. D. 456, then Īçāna Varman's date (456 + 54) is A. D. 510. If the Hun Era is taken as A. D. 448, Īçāna Varman's date will be A. D. 502. The subject requires further discussion, which I cannot at present undertake.

Dr. Hoey's third coin resembles the Gupta coins in having the king's head turned to the right, and in being evidently dated in the Gupta Era.

No. 3. (Pl. VI, fig. 15). *Obv.* Head to right; execution coarse, and in high relief. Date in three characters, of peculiar form which may perhaps be read as 166. The date of Budha Gupta's coin is 174 of the Gupta Era.

Rev. Fantail peacock device. The legend, which is difficult to read, seems to begin with *बिजि viji*—, and to end with the name *श्री हरिकान्त Śrī Harikānta*.

Section III. COPPER COINAGE OF TŌRAMĀṆA.

The arrangement of the copper coins of Tōramāṇa presents many difficulties, which I am not yet in a position to solve. Some of the coins bearing the name of Tōramāṇa (or at least its first syllable, or first two syllables) may belong to a king of Kāçmīr of perhaps later date than the White Hun chief. The exact date of this Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr is not known. In *Coins of Mediæval India* (p. 391), he is dated A.D. 520 and made to be contemporary with the White Hun chief.

Cunningham's remarks on the subject of the two Tōramāṇas are as follows:—

"With regard to the supposed identity of the Tōramāṇas of Eraṇ and Gwalior [*scil.* the White Hun chief] with the Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr, which was originally advocated by Rājēndralāl and Bhāu Dāji,

¹ *Trans.*, p. 228. See *post*, p. 208, M. Drouin dates the Hun Era from A. D. 448.

I may say that I cannot conceive it to be possible for the following reasons :—

1. The Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr, according to the Rāja Taraṅgiṇī, was never a king, but died in prison, where he was put by his brother for striking the coins which we now possess. The Scythian [*i.e.*, White Hun] Tōramāṇa was a powerful king, who ruled over the valley of the Indus, both Pañjāb and Sindh, and afterwards conquered Mālwā, where small silver coins of Gupta type were struck in his name¹ and a colossal boar set up in the first year of his reign. Eventually he left his kingdom to his son Mihirkul, who held it for at least fifteen years.

2. The son of the Kāçmīr Tōramāṇa was Pravarasēna, who is always described as a great conqueror; but if the two Tōramāṇas were the same, then Pravarasēna must have been Mihirakula himself.

But there is this difference between the two that Mihirkul was eventually defeated by Yaçōdharman, king of Mālwā, whereas Pravarasēna re-established on his throne Silāditya, the expelled son of the king of Mālwā.

3. The coins of Pravarasēna, both in gold and silver, show him to have belonged to the Kidāra Kuṣāns, as they present the name of Kidāra in beautifully formed letters written perpendicularly, as on all the Kidarite coins.

Lastly, I may observe that the earlier Tōramāṇa, like all the White Huns, has his hair cut short, while the Kāçmīr Tōramāṇa has bushy hair like his ancestor Kidāra, as copied from the Sassanian kings.

4. I may also note that the characters of the Kāçmīr coins are of a later date than the others. This is most clearly shown in the attached *ā* and *ō*, which are simple prolongations of the *mātrās* of the *t* and *m*, instead of marks placed above those letters, as in the Kyura [Kura] and Eraṇ inscriptions of the other Tōramāṇas.

I note also that the letter *r* has a turn up at the foot of the Kāçmīr coins of Tōramāṇa and his son Pravarasēna, which is not found on the others."²

Some of the proposed tests are open to criticism, but I will not stop to examine them minutely. Cunningham, it will be observed, regards the Tōramāṇa coins which he ascribes to Kāçmīr as the unauthorized issue of a pretender. I confess that I feel sceptical as to the existence of two contemporary Tōramāṇas in Northern India in A. D. 520.

¹ I doubt if the Tōramāṇa hemidrachms were struck in Mālwā. The Gupta coins of the Fantail Peacock type seem to have been struck in the Gangetic valley.

² *Trans.*, p. 232.

The same author has discussed the coins of the Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr at greater length in another place. “There are other coins,” he observes, “with the name of Kidāra which undoubtedly belong to Kāçmīr. The earliest are the well-known copper pieces of Tōramāṇa, and the gold and silver coins of his son Pravarasēna..... As the existing coins of Tōramāṇa, which are found in considerable numbers in Kāçmīr, are confined to one class of copper pieces, ranging from 100 to 120 grains in weight, it seems not improbable that what Tōramāṇa did was to collect the old coins called *Bāla-hats*, and to re-coin them as *Dīnārs* in his own name. ... The money thus re-coined, I take to have been the barbarous pieces of the later Kuṣān princes, whose names are unknown. These pieces vary in weight from 100 to 125 grains, with the king standing on the obverse, and Çiva and his bull on the reverse. The coins of Tōramāṇa and his son Pravarasēna are so superior in execution to these coins and to all the contemporary coins of North-West India, that I look upon them as the first real issue of the Kāçmīr mint. ... I much doubt whether there was any previous coinage in Kāçmīr.”¹

Two of these Tōramāṇa coins of Kāçmīr are noticed and figured in Thomas’ Prinsep, p. 389, Pl. xxxi, pp. 13, 14.

Obv. Rude standing figure of king, with legend श्री तोरमा[ण]
Çrī Tōramā[ṇa].

Rev. Rude Lakṣmī, with legend जय *jaya*. These coins are said to be common. The king’s figure is filled out in considerable detail, though roughly.²

Certain *Tōra* coins, collected by Mr. Rodgers, which are now in the cabinet of Mr. W. Theobald of Budleigh Salterton, exhibit a much more degraded form of the Standing King device, and cannot well be assigned to the White Hun Tōramāṇa, A.D. 500.

The Standing King of these coins (Nos. 1 and 2) is reduced to the barest skeleton of a rude diagram. I annex sketches and descriptions.³

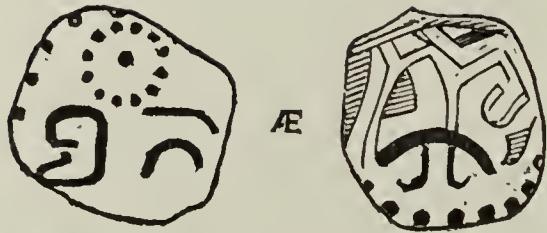
¹ *Num. Chron.* for 1893, pp. 190–193.

² One of these coins is in the Lahore Museum. Weight 96·8, diam. 8. Mr. Rodgers also says that coins of this class are common. (*Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum*, p. 54). In *Coins of Mediæval India* Cunningham has described and figured two varieties of the Kāçmīr copper coinage of Tōramāṇa, of which one is very rare, and the other common. Pravarasēna’s coinage also is found in two forms, one in gold, and the other in silver (*Coins of Mediæval India*, pp. 42, 43, Pl. iii, 1–4.)

³ A coin very similar to No. 1 has been published by Dr. Hoernle (*Proc. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1885, p. 5, Pl. I, 14.) Among 60 coins from the Pañjāb, nearly all coins of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula, there was only one specimen with the skeleton figure. Dr. Hoernle’s description is as follows:—

“*Obv.* Crude standing figure of king, facing to the front with left arm akimbo, its right resting on a spear or staff, somewhat resembling the figure on the later Indo-Scythian coins.

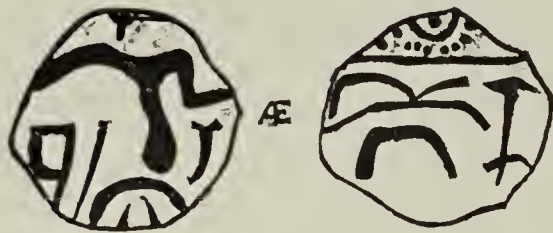
No. 1.



No. 1. *Obv.* A very degraded standing figure. Weight 41.

Rev. Sun in upper field: Çrī Tō. in lower field.

No. 2.



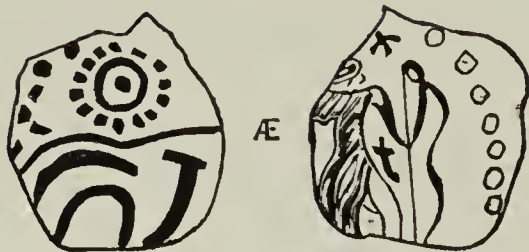
No. 2. *Obv.* A very degraded standing figure, and the letters (?) बर. Weight 62.

Rev. Sun above horizontal line. Below, Tōra in large letters.

These two pieces must, I think, be classed with Kāçmīr coins.

Another Tōra coin (**No. 3**), sent home with the above, looks to me of earlier date.

No. 3.



Obv. King standing, holding bow in left hand, as in Gupta coins. The only legend consists of two minute characters; तौ Tō above the king's left shoulder, and रा rā or र ra below his left arm.

Rev. Sun above horizontal line. Legend below line तौर Tōra, in peculiar bold characters. Weight 56.

I am inclined to attribute this piece to the father of Mihirakula.¹

Mr. Theobald's fourth piece is a larger coin than the last.

Rev. Wheel as in No. 5 [Sassanian Bust Tōra coins], with some large marks looking like letters (perhaps बोधि bōdhi)."

Another coin in this style is figured in *Coins of Mediæval India*, Pl. vi., 1, and vaguely assigned to a large class of "copper coins, which show Çiva and his bull on one side, and on the reverse a very rude representation of what appears to be a fire-altar with its two attendant priests. Many of them bear single letters or names in early mediæval letters. ... A large find of these coins was made at Rohtak, between the Satlaj and Delhi, ten years ago. They probably formed the common copper currency of the Pañjāb and Rājputāna between A.D. 500 and 800."

¹ This coin has also been described and figured by Cunningham in his posthumous paper on the *Coins of the White Huns* in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. ix (vii), fig. 17. His description is inaccurate, omitting all mention of the minute characters on the obverse, which are quite plain on the original coin, and giving the reverse legend as Tō, instead of Tōra. Cunningham agrees with me in ascribing this coin to the White Hun Tōramāṇa. The paper in the *Num. Chron.* appeared while these

No. 4. *Obv.* Standing king to left, sacrificing at altar with right hand, resting on spear with left arm. Legend on left margin illegible.

Rev. Lakṣmī seated. The only legible letters are रम *ram*, on right margin. Weight 98.

This coin is evidently of comparatively early date, and may belong to the White Hun Tōramāṇa.

The fifth coin is similar in type to the last. Mr. Rodgers reads *Tōramāṇa* on left *obverse* margin, but this legend was not fully legible on the specimen submitted to me. The only letter visible on the *reverse* is *y*, probably part of *jaya*. The form of the *y* is early.

I am doubtful to whom to ascribe this piece.

Cunningham's notices of the copper coinage of Tōramāṇa, the White Hun, are unfortunately very brief. They are as follows:—

“The small copper coins attributed to Tōramāṇa are found both in the Pañjāb and in the country between the Satlaj and Jamna.

“Their attribution is based on the type of the sun with the abbreviated name of *Tora* in large letters.

“The same sun-type is found on the copper coins of Mihirakula, of which a few specimens show the bull struck over the solar emblem.”¹

“There is also a small class of copper coins which I would assign to Toramāṇa Jabula.

“They bear a king's head of Sassanian aspect on the *obverse* and a *chakra*, or sun-wheel, on the *reverse*, with the Indian legend *Tora* in bold letters.

“The same legend is found on some of the smaller silver coins, with the name of *Zoboa*, or *Jabula*. . . . I observe that the peculiar symbol, which is rarely absent from any of the broad silver coins of these Ephthalite kings, does not appear on any of their undoubted Indian coins which are found in the Eastern Pañjāb and Rājputāna.”²

These passages do not make it clear whether or not the learned author attributed to Tōramāṇa Jabula any coins other than those with the Sassanian head on the *obverse*.

I have shown above that the sun symbol occurs on several types of *Tōra* coins.

Other variations of the Standing King *obverse*, combined with a solar *reverse*, and characters of rather late type, which may be read as *Çrī Tōra*, will be found engraved in Plate xxxiv., 17, 18 of Thomas'

sheets were passing through the press. It is a reprint of the paper in the *Transactions*, with plates and a catalogue of coins added.

¹ *Trans.*, p. 229.

² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

edition of Prinsep's *Essays*. Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280) reads the legend on fig. 17 as *Shuta*.

These coins, other than the Sassanian-head pieces, seem to me to present many difficulties.

The coins with the Sassanian-head obverse, alluded to by Cunningham in the second quotation above, must certainly be assigned to the White Hun Tōramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula.

They have been described and figured by Prinsep, whose note may be quoted in full.¹ "Figs. 15 and 16 of this Plate [xxxiii], and 6 of the ensuing one [xxxiv], are types of a distinct group of copper coins, plentiful in the Swiney and Stacy cabinets. The appendage to the shoulder decides the Sassanian origin, and the wheel on the reverse seems to be borrowed from the emblem above the fire-altar. I incline to think it the solar effigy, rather than the symbol of a *Chakravartin*, or ruler of universal dominion. It is probable that the common emblem is still preserved in the Ujjain and Indor coins on the present day.

There is the appearance of a letter in front of the face, but it is ill-defined.

On the opposite side, however, the two large letters under the wheel are, most distinctly, **तोर** *Tōra*, the meaning of which remains a mystery. They are not in the same alphabet as that of the preceding coins, but of the more ancient *lāṭ* character, which accords, so far, with the comparative superiority of the engraving."

I am not fortunate enough to possess any of these coins. I annex a formal description of them, based on Prinsep's and Cunningham's plates and descriptions.

TŌRAMĀṆA (WHITE HUN.)

Sassanian Bust Type.—Æ.

- Obv.* Modified Sassanian Bust, facing right. An indistinct letter before face, read by Cunningham as बु, *Bu*. Dotted circle. The king seems to wear a close-fitting skull-cap.
- Rev.* In upper field a sun (wheel). In lower field **तोर** *Tōra*, in bold, splayed characters. Dotted circle. Diam., about .75 inch. Weight of Cunningham's specimen, 57 grains.

The collection of 60 coins from the Pañjāb already referred to

¹ *Thomas' Prinsep*, Vol. I, p. 416, Pl. xxxiii, 15, 16, and Pl. xxxiv, 6. The tail of the र *r* in these coins is turned up to the left, so that, according to Cunningham, they should be classed as issued by the later Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr. I do not believe in the validity of the test.

contained six of these pieces, which are described as follows by Dr. Hoernle.

“No. 5. Six specimens. Plate I, figs. 6, 7.

Obv. King's head or bust, facing right; with fillet behind, as on No. 1, [*viz.*, 15 Bull coins of Mihirakula.] In front of face, a symbol, resembling an angular shaped 9, which, if it be a graphic sign, may be read as *bra* or *pra*.

Rev. Circular area, divided into two halves by a straight line; in the upper half a wheel within a circle of dots; in the lower half the two letters [characters] **तोर** *tōra*, in large bold Gupta characters of a late type.”¹

Circular dotted margins on both sides. Weight not stated. Diam. of fig. 7 is .75 inch. Fig. 6 represents a somewhat smaller coin.

It is, I think, impossible to doubt that these Sassanian Bust coins were struck by Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula. The division of the field into two portions by a horizontal line, with a symbol above, and the king's name below, is copied from the Gupta copper coinage. The Gupta kings inserted as the symbol their family crest, the Garuḍa bird; the White Hun, a sun-worshipper, uses his special emblem or crest, the sun's disk. Cunningham observes (*Trans.*, p. 229,) that “Tōramāṇa's preference for solar-worship is shown by his building a temple to the sun in Multān, and by naming his son Mihirkul.”²

If it be admitted, as I think it must be, that the Sassanian Bust coins above described were struck by Tōramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula, it follows that Dr. Hoernle must be mistaken in supposing that, in the case of certain double-struck pieces, the emblems of Tōramāṇa are superimposed on those of his son. Dr. Hoernle makes the admission that “on one specimen the emblems of No. 1, [*scil.* Bull type of Mihirakula] seem to be superimposed on those of No. 5, [*scil.* Sassanian Bust coins of Tōramāṇa], but this, being an exceptional case, may be an illusion.”³

¹ *Proc. A. S. B.*, for 1885, p. 5, Pl. i.

² Cunningham identifies Tōramāṇa Jaūvla with the prince called Jabūn, **جَبُون**, in the *Chach-Nāma*, a history of Sindh, which states that Jabūn built the temple of the sun at Multān. Cunningham holds that this Jabūn was the first of the *Ṣāhi* dynasty, and he obtains A.D. 505, as the date for the foundation of the sun-temple at Multān, by deducting 137 years, the duration of the *Ṣāhi* dynasty, from A.D. 642, the date when *Chach Brāhman* became king of Sindh. (*Trans.*, pp. 226, 228, 229.) For an account of the sun-temple at Multān, and Sassanian coins connected with it, see *Arch. Rep.* Vol. V, pp. 115–121, Pl. xxxvii; and *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 268, Pl. x.

³ *Proc. A. S. B.*, for 1885, p. 6.

In 1885, when this remark was written, the relationship of the earlier Tōramāṇa to Mihirakula was not known, and Dr. Hoernle was influenced by the statements of the *Rāja Taraggiṇī* concerning Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr and his son Pravarasēna.

Dr. Fleet is clearly correct in the observation:—“Toramāṇa was the father and predecessor of the great Mihirakula himself. This will explain the double-struck coins published by Dr. Hoernle. The Tōramāṇa of these coins must be the father of Mihirakula, not as was thought at the discussion of them, the later Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr; and I feel sure that a re-examination of these coins will show that in every case the name and emblems of Mihirakula lie over those of Tōramāṇa.”¹

The result of this prolonged discussion is that only a single type of copper coins—that which I have named the Sassanian Bust, can with perfect certainty be ascribed to Tōramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula.

I believe that the Archer coin (Theobald, No. 3, *ante*, p. 197) is also his. The other *Tōra* coins must for the present remain doubtful.

Section IV.—MIHIRAKULA OR MIHIRAGULA, (*circa* A.D. 515–544.)

SILVER COINAGE.

The silver coins of Mihirakula are exceedingly rare; in fact, only three specimens seem to be known.

Sassanian Bust Type.

Obv. Bust of King to right, beardless, with crescent on front of head-dress. Bull, or bull-standard, in front; trident behind. Marginal legend either *Jayatu Mihirakula*, or *Jayatu vṛṣadhvaja*.

Rev. Fire-altar and attendants, more or less distinct.

Variety 1.

Broad coin, about 1 inch in diameter; weight, according to Cunningham, 36·5 (which may be a misprint for 56·5). Standard in front of bust is an umbrella decorated with pennons, having a bull to left, recumbent on the top. Obverse legend जयतु मिहिरकुल *jayatu Mihirakula*, ‘may Mihirakula be victorious.’

References and Remarks:—

This coin was included in the Abbott collection, which was chiefly formed in the Hazāra country, and it is now in the British Museum. Thomas published a good woodcut of the obverse (*P. E.*,

¹ *Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. XV (1886, p. 245.) Mr. Rivett-Carnac, who sent the coins, also noticed that the bull was struck “above some former design.” Cunningham, too, had no doubt that the bull was “struck over the solar emblem.”

p. 411, woodcut No. 5). The obverse is in good preservation, and has again been figured in autotype by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, Pl. X (VIII), fig. 3. The reverse shows only the remains of fire-altar and attendants nearly obliterated, and has, consequently, never been figured. This coin, which seems to be unique, is also described by Cunningham in *Transactions*, pp. 231, 236; and in *Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 27.

Variety 2.

Smaller than variety 1, diam. about .90 inch; weight 56. Only bull in front of bust, the standard not being visible. Legend जयतु वृषध्वज, *jayatu vṛṣadhvaj*, 'may the bull-standard be victorious.'

References and Remarks:—

Two specimens of this variety are known, both in Cunningham's cabinet. The better of the two is figured in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 4. The coins are also noticed in *Transactions*, pp. 231, 236; and *Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 27. It is not known where they were found.

Thomas mentions a coin in Mr. (Sir E. C.) Bayley's cabinet, with the legend *jayatu* and a trident, which was probably another specimen of Mihirakula's coinage. Several other closely related coins are described by Cunningham in the *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 281, *seqq.*

Section V.—MIHIRAKULA.

COPPER COINAGE.

The copper coins of Mihirakula, unlike his silver ones, are tolerably common, and are known in several sizes and types.

Cunningham's account of them is as follows:—

"The small copper coins which are found in the Eastern Pañjāb and in Rājputāna are also [like the silver coins] of Sassanian type.

On the obverse is the king's head with the legend in Indian characters *Śrī Mihirakula*; on the reverse a humped bull with the Indian legend *jayatu vṛṣa*, 'may the bull be victorious.'

The middle sized copper coins are copies of the previous Kuṣān types—the king standing with a spear in left hand, and right hand held downwards over a small altar; legend in Indian letters, *Śāhi Mihirakula*, or simply *Mihirakula*. Reverse, the goddess Lakṣmī seated, with cornucopiæ.

The large copper coins present the Rāja on horseback with the Indian legend *Mihirakula*; reverse—the goddess Lakṣmī." ¹

¹ *Trans.*, p. 231.

“Both peoples [*scil.* Kuṣāns and White Huns] adhered to the old Kuṣān types for their copper money.”...¹

“There are two distinct types of legend even in the Indian inscriptions. Thus, some coins of Mihirkul give him the simple title of *Çrī* preceding his name, while others have *jayatu Mihirakula*. Others bear the Scythian form of *Şāhi Mihiragula*.” “The former, I conclude, were struck in Kāçmīr, the latter either in Gandhāra or in Taxila.”²

“His copper coins are not uncommon. The copper coins of the Western Pañjāb are all of the Kuṣān type, with the standing king and seated goddess Lakṣmī; but the few silver coins, and all the Eastern Pañjāb copper pieces bear a Sassanian looking bust of the king, with the bull and trident of Çiva. His devotion to Çiva is also strongly marked by the legends of *jayatu vṛṣa dhvaja* and *jayatu vṛṣa*. In the *Rāja Taranginī* he is described as a persecutor of Buddhists.”³

Facsimiles of two of the legends on Mihirakula’s copper coins are given in Pl. xiv, D. E., of *Num. Chron.* for 1893. These legends read (D), *Şāhi Mihiragula*; and (E), *Çrī Mihirakula*.

The above quoted extracts show that Mihirakula’s copper coinage occurs in three main forms, namely:—

I.—Horseman Type.

Obv. King on horseback to right. Legend मिहिरकुल *Mihirakula*, “sometimes written in the wrong direction from right to left.” (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 27).

Rev. The seated goddess Lakṣmī. Diam., .90; weight 110.

The coins of this type seems to be very rare. Cunningham possessed five specimens. (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 282, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 7.)

II.—Standing King Type.

Obv. Standing King with spear in left hand, and right hand held downwards over a small altar. Legend either षाहि मिहिरगुल *Şāhi Mihiragula*, or simply मिहिरकुल *Mihirakula*.

Rev. Seated goddess Lakṣmī, with cornucopiæ.

These coins are described as “middle-sized,” and are said to come from the Western Pañjāb. Cunningham had five specimens of the *Şāhi* variety, weight 121 (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 281, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 5). He

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235. The foregoing extract shows that *all* the copper coins are not Kuṣān in type.

² *Coins of Med. India*, p. 27.

³ *Trans.*, p. 237.

describes and figures (*ibid.*, fig. 6) a single specimen of the *Mihirakula* variety, the legend on which is written from right to left. There is a star or sun above the left shoulder of Lakṣmī.

III.—Sassanian Bust Type.

Obv. Modified Sassanian bust of king, generally to right.

Rev. Humped bull.

The varieties of this type being numerous, further details will be given in the descriptions of the several varieties. The materials at the moment accessible to me do not suffice for the preparation of an absolutely exhaustive list of varieties, though I can indicate the principal variations. Perhaps the best leading line of division is furnished by the presence or absence of legends.

Class I.—With legends.

Variety 1.—*Obv.* Legend श्री मिहिरकुल *Śrī Mihirakula*, or श्री मिहिरगुल *Śrī Mihiragula*, in front of king's face.

Rev. Legend जयतु वृष *jayatu vṛṣa*, in exergue below bull. Trident, or standard, in front of bull. Crescent over bull's rump. Bull to left.

References and Remarks :—

P. E., Pl. xxxiv, 4, 5.¹ *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 1.

Proc. A. S. B. for 1885. No. 1, pp. 4, 5; Plate i, figs. 1–4. Fifteen specimens, of which six are double-struck, apparently on coins of Tōramāṇa.

Lahore Museum. Several specimens; see Rodgers' *Catalogue*, pp. 141, 142. The details given by him do not permit of minute classification of the minor varieties. I have one specimen of this variety, bought from Mr. Rodgers, and it seems to be by far the commonest variety of *Mihirakula*'s coinage. Two of the fifteen specimens from the Pañjāb described by Dr. Hoernle gave the king's name as *Mihiragula*, proving that the prefix *Śrī* is found with both forms of the name.

Variety 2.—Similar to variety 1, but the legend *jayatu vṛṣa* is above the bull, instead of below it in an exergue.

References and Remarks :—

P. E. Pl. xxxiv, 3 (Stacy.) *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 2.

Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 4; 1 specimen.

¹ *P. E.* stands for Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, l. stands for left; and r. for right.

Variety 3.—Obv. Legend श्री मिहिरगुल *Śrī Mihiragula*.

Rev. No trident before bull. Crescent replaced by a symbol resembling the letter *y*. Legend below bull as in No. 1.

References and Remarks:—

Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 2, fig. 5; 2 specimens.

“On one of them the bull is represented in the attitude of running or jumping. The dots on both coins are much smaller [than in variety 1], and the letter म *m* is formed peculiarly, being hardly distinguishable from a प *p*.”

Some of the coins in the Lahore Museum may belong to this variety, because in the case of No. 2 (weight 53·3; diam. ·75), Mr. Rodgers notes that there is a “post in front” of the bull. I presume, therefore, that there is no “post” in front of the coin No. 1. That is a small coin, weight 21·9, diam. ·65, and on obverse only *Śrī Mihira* is legible.

Variety 4:—

Obv. As in Variety 1.

Rev. Wheel (sun) below bull's feet. No legend.

References and Remarks.—

P. E., Pl. xxxiv, 1, 2. (Stacy). Though Prinsep and Thomas failed to read the obverse legend correctly, there is no doubt that the coins are Mihirakula's. On fig. 2, the syllables *Mihira* are perfectly plain.

Cunningham had two specimens of this variety.

Variety 5:—

Obv. Legend, presumably *Śrī Mihirakula*, below the king's head, instead of being in front of it. Ephthalite symbol 𑀘 in front of face.

Rev. As in Variety 1.

References and Remarks.—

Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 3, not figured. 1 specimen.

Variety 6:—

Obv. Legend षाहि मिहिरगुल *Śāhi Mihiragula* in front of king's face.

Rev. No legend.

References and Remarks.—

*Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 8, fig. 12, as corrected by Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 249, note.*

I append textually Dr. Fleet's remarks (*l. c.*) on the inscribed coins. They do not fit into my detailed classification of varieties, and indicate that some other varieties, or sub-varieties, exist.

“Mhirakula's coins ... come in large numbers, in copper, from the neighbourhood of Rāwalpiṇḍī and Kāçmīr. ...

I have had the advantage of examining those in General Cun-

ningham's collection, and I found them to give two varieties of his name, Mihirakula, and Mihiragula; out of twenty-two of the best specimens, ten gave the termination as *gula*.

What the termination *kula* or *gula* may mean, I must leave Persian scholars to decide.¹ But there can be no doubt that his name, as preserved by Hiuen Tsiang, and in the *Rājataranḡinī* and the inscriptions, is simply the Sanskritised form of a foreign word *mihrkul*, which in the sense of a certain kind of cotton-cloth, actually does occur in the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*.²

Further, on his coins, his name as *Mihirakula* is coupled with the Hindū title *Çrī*; whereas the other form, *Mihiragula* is coupled with the purely foreign name or title of *Şāhi*.³

“His coins ... shew clearly his religious or sectarian tendencies, both foreign and Hindū. Nine of the coins examined by me with the Sanskrit legend *Çrī Mihirakula* on the obverse, have as the principal symbol on the reverse, a bull, the emblem of Çiva and the Çaiva worship; coupled in the seven cases with the legend *Jayatu vṛṣa* [h], ‘victorious be the bull.’

Another leading symbol of his coins is an eight-rayed sun or planet, usually with a periphery or circle round it; this appears on the obverse of three of the same set of coins, and in two instances on the reverse, below the fore-feet of the bull.

And a third leading symbol is the crescent moon, which occurs in eight instances in the same set on the reverse, over the back of the bull.

Also, two coins, of the same set, and one of the set that has the Sanskritized foreign legend *Şāhi Mihiragula*, have on the obverse a standard, the top of which is either the eight-rayed sun, or a crescent moon, or perhaps a *triçūla*, another emblem of the Çaiva faith.”⁴

¹ Turkish scholars would be more likely to decide the question. (V. A. S.)

² “Blochmann's translation, Vol. I, pp. 95, 617.”

³ “Only the second syllable, *hi*, actually falls within the edges of the specimens examined by me. But other coins of the Kaçmīr series give the complete word *Şāhi*, and leave no doubt that this was the title on the Mihirakula dies.—The same explanation, and not that it is a coin of Hiranya, has to be applied to No. 8 of the coins published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LIV, Part i [*sic*, read *Proc.* for 1885], p. 4, f. f.”

⁴ It has been shown above that Dr. Fleet was mistaken in supposing that the prefix *Çrī* is always coupled with the *kula* form of the name, and the prefix *Şāhi* with the *gula* form. *Çrī* is found associated with both forms of the name on the copper coins. The Sanskrit verb *jayatu* is coupled with the name *Mihirakula* on the silver coins. Probably, the variation in spelling was regarded at the time as trivial, though the *gula* form may be older than the *kula* form which produces a legitimate Sanskrit compound. That compound, meaning ‘the solar race,’ is, of course, not suitable for a personal name. The wheel, or sun, the crescent moon, and the trident, are all found on Gupta coins.

Class II.—Without legends.*Variety 1* :—

Obv. Bust to right. In front of face, the Ephthalite symbol, monogram, No. 163, of the *Ariana Antiqua*, or other symbol.

Rev. Running bull, with turned-up tail, to left.

References and Remarks :—

Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 6, figs. 8, 9. Fourteen specimens, one being double-struck, mostly in “very poor” condition.

These coins have the “Ephthalite symbol,” (mon. 163 of *Ariana Antiqua*, and 373 of Rodgers’ *Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum*), *Lahore Museum*, No. 4. (*Rodgers’ Catalogue*, p. 141.)

The monogram in front of king’s face is Rodgers’ No. 374, a leaf-shaped symbol. The average weight of 5 coins is 31·8. Diam. ·7.


Variety 2 :—

As *Variety 1*, but bull to right.

References and Remarks :—

Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 7, fig. 10. Dr. Hoernle groups together the coins figured as 10 and 11, and says that there are 11 specimens of this variety. Figure 10 agrees with his description, but figure 11 represents a coin roughly square in shape, with a sun and the syllable *वे* *Tō* on obverse. It is evidently a coin of *Tōramāṇa*.

Variety 3 :—

Obv. Bust of King to left. In front of face, the monogram No. 375 of Rodgers .

Rev. Bull to right, as in *Variety 2*.

References and Remarks :—

Lahore Museum, No. 5. Weight 26·1. Diam. ·8.

There can, I think, be very little doubt that these three varieties of anonymous coins are rightly assigned to *Mihirakula*, though it is of course, just possible that they were struck by some contemporaneous Hun chief, of whom we know nothing.

I cannot attempt at present to pursue further the subject of the White Hun coinage, or to treat of the issues of chieftains more obscure than *Tōramāṇa* and *Mihirakula*. My discussion, though avowedly incomplete, will, it is hoped, introduce a certain amount of order into a subject which has hitherto, when discussed at all, been treated in a desultory and confused fashion. Any numismatist who is fortunate enough to have access to well-stocked cabinets can easily fill in the omissions and complete my rough outline. During the passage of these pages through the press the reprint of *Cunningham’s* paper, with plates, has appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1894. I have worked into

my text the necessary references to that reprint for the Indian coinages of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula. The obscure cognate issues are described and figured by Cunningham.

Addendum to Part V.

When looking through a mass of pamphlets, I have come across a short paper by M. E. Drouin entitled *Quelques Noms de Princes Touraniens qui ont régné dans le Nord de l'Inde aux VI^e et VII^e Siècles*, which I had forgotten and overlooked.¹

M. Drouin prefers the term Turanian to any other as a general term to include the Central Asian invaders of India, and gives the reason for his preference as follows: "À défaut de terme précis pour désigner l'ensemble des divers peuples tartares venus de l'Haute-Asie qui ont régné en Sogdiane, à Kaboul, et dans le Pendjâb, je me sers de l'expression de *Touranien*, qui est celle même employée par les Perses, dans leurs épopées comme dans leur histoire, pour désigner les peuples anariens, leur ennemi héréditaire. Ce mot est préférable à ceux de *Scythe* ou *Tartare*, qui sont, l'un trop ancien et l'autre trop moderne."

Some of the coins referred to by M. Drouin are those in the British Museum, described by Cunningham, and some are in Berlin.

The king's name on the Udayāditya coins, which was read by Thomas as *Lamata*, and by Cunningham as *Lakhana*, is read by M. Drouin as *Latona* or *Lanona*.

Concerning the *Tōra* coins he is cautious, and says, "Tora est peut-être une abréviation de Tōramāṇa (cf. Hoernle, *Proceedings J. Asiatic Soc., Bengal*, janv. 1885.) Tora est un vieux mot tartare qui signifie 'prince' et qui est resté dans l'ouïgour et le turc oriental (تورا). Les monnaies qui ont les noms de Tora et Mihirakula ont sur leur revers, en place du pyrée, ou le nandi ou la roue solaire."

As to the era of the Huns, M. Drouin suggests that it dates from about the year A.D., 448, and refers to a paper of his on the subject in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1890.

He mentions a paper on the *Gadhīā* coins of *Gujarāt* and *Mālvā* by the late Bhagwân Lâl Indrajî, which appeared in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1876.

M. Drouin finally observes that the 'Turanian' princes sometimes made use of a peculiar alphabet composed both of Greek and Pablavî letters, read from right to left. To this alphabet he gives the name Irano-Scythic.

¹ The extract which I possess is paged 546-550, and is, I believe taken from the *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, 1893.